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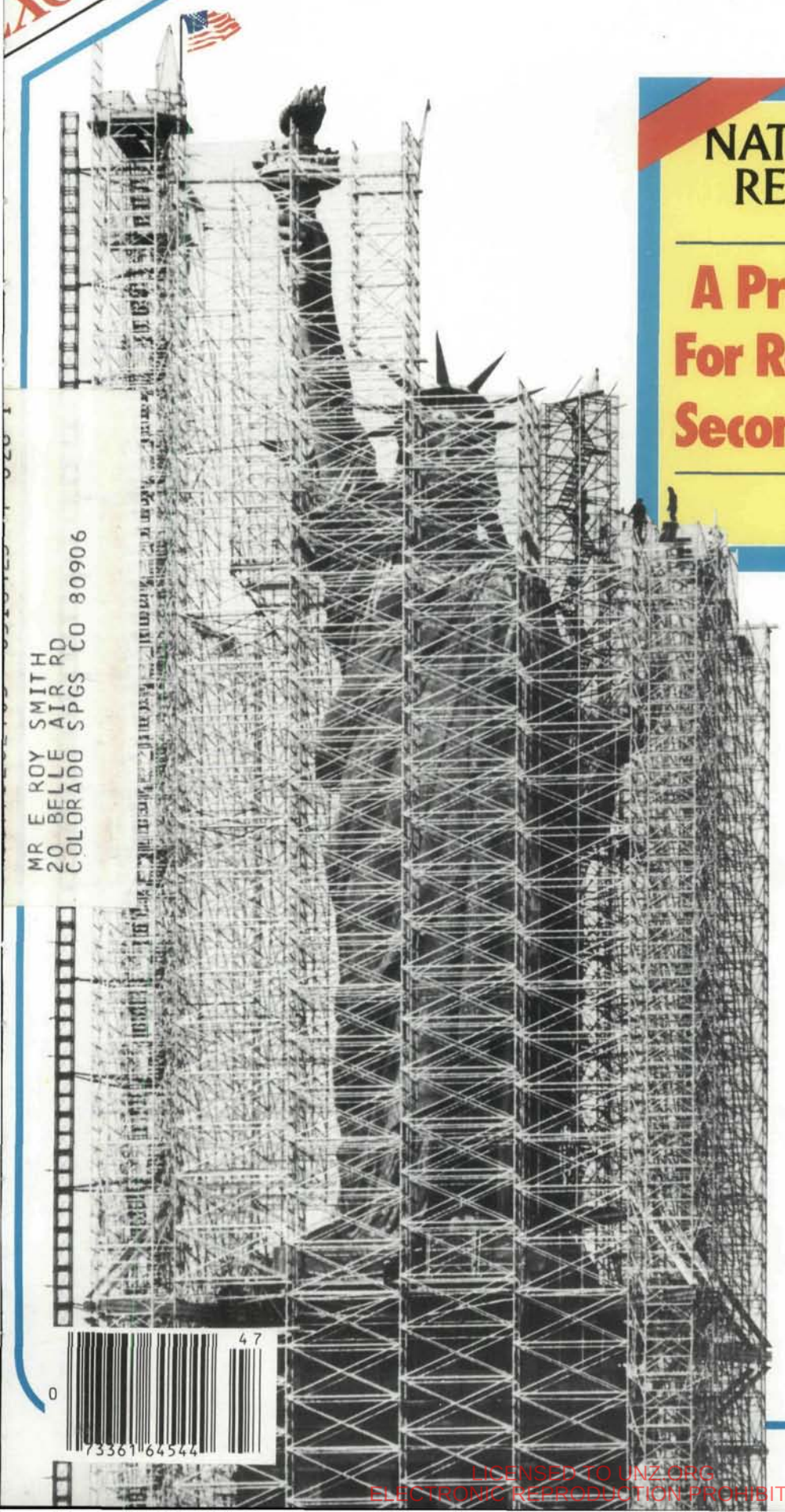

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Program For Reagan's Second Term

THE TEAM
Tom Bethell

ECONOMIC POLICY
Paul Craig Roberts

FOREIGN POLICY
Patrick J. Buchanan

SOCIAL POLICY
Joseph Sobran

DEFENSE POLICY
Bruce Porter

MR E ROY SMITH
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3J

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Cover design by Colleen Lawlor
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NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and additional mailing offices. © National Review, Inc., 1984. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editors, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile.

RATES: $29.00 a year (25 issues). Add $6.25 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

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LETTERS

Local Heroes

It was about time that a national media source used local experts to cover the nation's hottest Senate races ["The Senate Races: Six Hot Ones," Nov. 16]. Most of the coverage I've seen seems to have been researched by roving national reporters who read a few local papers while caught in an airport layover. They pick up a simple theme, and it's off to the next story. In Massachusetts, the theme is that Ray Shamie once associated with the John Birchers. In Illinois, it's that Charles Percy never associated with the Richard Vigueries. Thank you, *NR*, for getting beyond the simpleminded issue-bytes.

The Illinois race is fascinating because it's a contest between two very intelligent men who somehow got caught in a time warp through the past decade and now are trying desperately to catch up. Simon keeps stressing his non-ideological pragmatism, but when he gets in front of Hispanic, black, or urban white liberal groups, the old, standard-issue liberalism comes through. I've been at rallies and heard him promise a government that will guarantee full employment. Percy has been running hard to cast off Rockefeller Republicanism for more than a year now, and for the first time he seems to be showing real loyalty to conservatism. The Viguerie/Dolan defection only hurts their cause, not Percy's. The populists should take a lesson from the New York Republicans who were confronted with an unfaithful candidate in Fiorello LaGuardia in the Thirties. "He may be a son of a bitch," they said, "but he's our son of a bitch. Let's support him."

Adina Hughes
Chicago, Ill.

Double Dealing

R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr., in "The Freezeniks" [Sept. 7], spoke of the deceitful ways of the anti-nuclear peace groups. I thought your readers might find it interesting to learn of an anti-nuclear group's stratagem recently employed to violate the trust of an unsuspecting church. St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, is composed of approximately forty Ukrainians and approximately twenty non-Ukrainians now attending our services because of the church's adherence to traditional forms of worship that are denied them in the Western Rite.

Several weeks ago a couple of new people attended our Mass and immediately thereafter sought to enlist our participation in what they described as an "ethnic cultural" evening to be held at the Fountain Street Church. Five unwary church members decided to attend and even consented to prepare some ethnic food and provide singing for the occasion. To their surprise, disappointment, and great distress, they learned only after arriving that the primary topic of the program was the promotion of an anti-nuclear theme.

St. Michael's takes exception to the underhanded dealings on two accounts. First, those seeking our participation never disclosed the true nature of the evening's program prior to our members' arrival. Second, and perhaps even more reprehensible, St. Michael's name was prominently placed on their printed program. This bit of adroitly executed duplicity effectively creates the impression that our church endorses the goals of the anti-nuclear organization. We particularly resent anyone attributing a position to us that we have not ourselves chosen to consider, let alone adopt.

This form of exploitation must not be allowed to go unpublicized or unanswered. I can't help but wonder if we weren't selected as an irresistible target after being judged to be a small group of people unlikely to have any real opportunity to go public with an objection.

Although it is not directly pertinent, I very much want to make one further comment. As I believe myself to be sufficiently well acquainted with the Ukrainian communities of both Grand Rapids and Detroit to have a sense of their predominant views in such matters, I have much confidence in my opinion that the vast majority would be vehemently opposed to the philosophy advanced by the anti-nuclear movement.

Charles W. Glane
Belding, Mich.

Tasteless Two

I must object to two articles in the October 5 issue. The first is John Simon's review of the movie *Tightrope*.

First, why review the movie in the first place? It is just one more of Holly-

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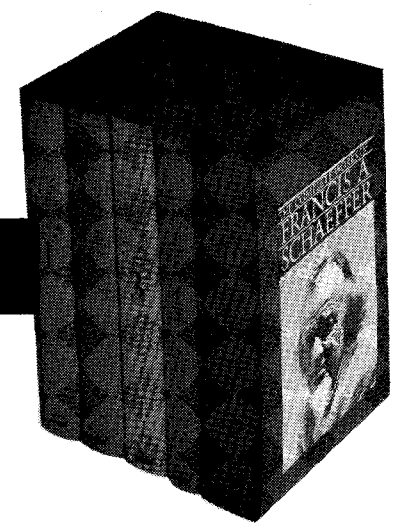

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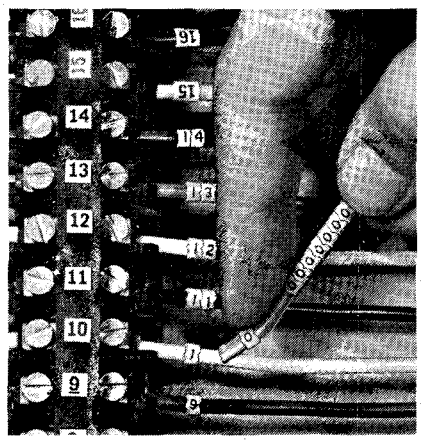

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wood's version of trash—now called artistic movie-making. The idea that we must know everything or be exposed to everything in the name of "education" or "broadening our minds" is a fallacy of grand proportions.

Second, Mr. Simon states: "It could have been a piece of soft-core pornography, and at times, alas, it is. It could have been a mere thriller, and regrettably, it is that to a large extent." He then justifies the film by further stating: "But it also could have been, and happily is in part, a searching examination of a psyche losing its balance, with distinct implications for the rest of us." But must we be bludgeoned with "soft-core porn" and "action-packed thrillers" to examine a psyche losing its balance? Furthermore, soft-core pornography is a disgrace. It is not prudish to be against "art forms" that are degrading to both men and women.

Of course, Mr. Simon could claim that his review saved me the agony of seeing the movie myself. Fair assumption on his part; but he forgets his audience. The average NATIONAL REVIEW reader is anything but uninformed and incapable of judging mere hype from truly hip. I do not care to read, in one of the few bastions of sanity remaining, a review of an insulting movie. Why not skip it and save us the trouble of turning an extra page.

My second objection is D. Keith Mano's "The Gimlet Eye." Now I usually do enjoy Mr. Mano's humor, but his latest, "Skirmishing—Part I," is neither funny nor in good taste—and especially not up to the hallmark quality of NATIONAL REVIEW. Please, profanity has limited uses, I will agree. But again, must we succumb to playground or back-of-the-school-bus lingo when the English language has many a non-profane descriptive phrase?

Isabella C. Ceplecha
Redwood Falls, Minn.

A Legitimate Idea?

In last issue's "On the Right" [Sept. 21], you correctly connect the increase of sexually transmitted diseases and the rise in illegitimacy—with its propensity for causing poverty—to sexual permissiveness in society. Moreover, your statement that liberal social programs and attitudes have added to this moral decline is not irrational or without statistical basis. However, your conclusion that the general availability of birth-control information is also a cause of the high rate of illegitimacy is, I believe, incorrect. On the contrary, the rising bastard birth rate has been buffered by the pub-

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lic's general awareness of pregnancy-preventive birth-control methods.

Of course the argument exists, and not without some force, that the sexual freedom allowed by birth control contributes to society's moral decay and, indirectly, to at least some illegitimate births. But if this logic can be used to justify the withholding of birth-control information from potential unwed mothers and fathers, as a means of decreasing illegitimacy, then shall we not also refuse to teach our children to swim, lest we fail to reduce the number of drownings? No, knowledge about birth control does not cause illegitimacy: any more than swimming lessons cause drowning accidents. And just as we would want our children to know what to do if they ever found themselves in deep water, so too would we want them prepared should they get in over their heads sexually.

Eugene D. Mullen
Troy, Ala.

Christian Charity

You were way off base in your item about Habitat for Humanity ["The Week," Oct. 5]. True, Habitat builds and renovates housing for poor or disabled people who have no other recourse. Yes, construction costs money, which is why Habitat is a volunteer instead of a for-profit organization. Construction volunteers in Americus receive room and board, plus $20 a week for gas and food. The money comes entirely from donations. Habitat discourages large donations from big companies, not wanting to be too far in debt to anyone who might start pulling strings. And yes, Habitat for Humanity is an avowedly Christian service.

But you were wrong about Americus and foreign Habitats. Nicaragua is by no means the only foreign Habitat project. There are Habitat projects in several African and Asian nations, even some that *NR* is not hostile to. There are projects throughout the U.S. as well. In Americus, Georgia, there is a one-hundred-household waiting list for construction work, and a volunteer backlog of around three months.

Habitat in its present form has been doing something about poverty housing since 1975. It has, as *NR* said it could not, worked. And it has worked through the efforts of private citizens who volunteer their time and services to the Christian cause of helping other people get decent housing. What's *NR*'s solution to poverty housing, maybe a nice government program?

Bruce Thompson
Greenville, S.C.

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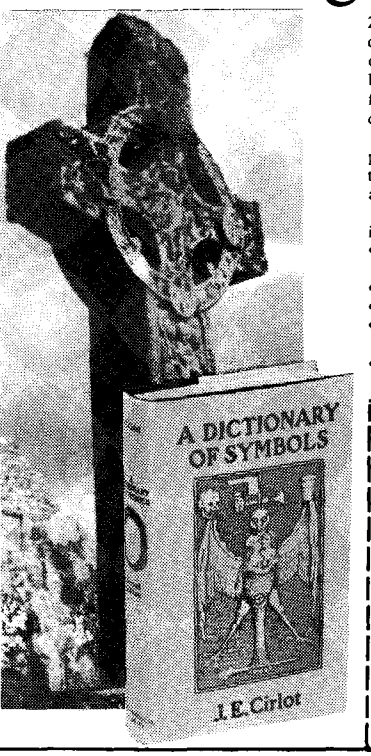

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FOR THE RECORD

It wasn't ladies' night. That **Geraldine Ferraro** was shot down in flames did not come as any surprise, but it was pretty much a clean sweep of other women candidates in big races. Only three made it: Democrat **Madeleine Kunin** in a squeaker, to become governor of Vermont; Republican challenger **Helen Delich Bentley**, who took out a big one, 11-term Democratic Rep. **Clarence Long** of Md.; and incumbent Republican Sen. **Nancy Kassebaum** of Kan., who had to have gone into the race as the most relaxed politician in America. Her last polls showed her 65 per cent ahead of her opponent. . . . But the nine other women who ran for the Senate all lost, as did Republicans **Elise du Pont**, wife of Delaware's Gov. **Pierre du Pont**, running for the House, and **Judy Petty** in House race in Arkansas. . . . In N.H. liberal activist **Dudley Dudley** (usually a behind-the-scenes political practitioner) was herself a candidate this time. She lost her House race to **Robert C. Smith**, or, as **Peter Jennings** put it: "Dudley Dudley lost lost." . . . Early on in the campaign, when a student told Mrs. Ferraro he didn't know much about the arms race because he was "busy with my homework," she snapped at him: "Then you should register as a Republican." He did. Exit polls show 58 per cent of young voters went for **Ronald Reagan** and **George Bush**.

Shailo, *Daily Telegraph* / Rothco

"Never thought we'd *be over a barrel."*

Best-kept secret of the race: the Nov. 1 statement by **Roy Innis** of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), urging blacks to abandon **Walter Mondale**'s sinking ship and vote for Reagan. Said Innis: "The successful desegregation of the Republican Party can be one of the most important and healthy political developments for the black community and for the country at large." CORE director **Cyril Boynes** confirmed that Innis was speaking for CORE's board. Incidentally, only notice *NR* found of this was three-paragraph AP story on p. 38 of *New York Times*, Sunday, Nov. 4. . . . Reagan also got the heavyweight black vote: endorsements from **Muhammad Ali**, **Floyd Patterson**, and **Joe Frazier**. . . . In California, **Eldridge Cleaver** commented as he endorsed Reagan that "the Democratic Party [has] harnessed black people to the federal budget and addicted us to welfare, and left us in the lurch." . . . Despite which, exit polls show Mondale getting 90 per cent of black vote, while Reagan swept Hispanics (56 per cent), Catholics (55 per cent), blue-collars (53 per cent), women (57 per cent).

In scandal sweepstakes, Democratic Rep. **Gerry Studds** (page-boy scandal in House) won re-election in Massachusetts, as did Republican Rep. **George Hansen** (financial-disclosure troubles) in Idaho; but Republican Rep. **Dan Crane** (page-girl scandal in House) lost in Illinois. . . . In Texas, the GOP not only won itself a senator in former Boll Weevil **Phil Gramm**, but also picked up four previously Democratic House seats: **Larry Combest** winning **Kent Hance**'s seat, **Beau Boulter** replacing **Jack Hightower**, **Dick Armey** replacing **Tom Vandergriff**, and **Mac Sweeney** replacing **Bill Patman** (**Wright Patman**'s son). . . . The Ivy League followed *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Boston Globe* in backing the loser. A late October poll gave Mondale 53 per cent, Reagan 34. . . . And in NYC, traditional Election Eve Watch in Great Hall of the **Harvard Club** was canceled this year—due to lack of interest.

Instant post-mortems: CBS Democratic analyst **Mark Shields** isn't buying thesis that landslide was Reagan's victory alone. It won't wash, says Shields. In the last three shellackings Democrats have taken, two can be explained away: **Carter** was an outsider, **McGovern** had Vietnam War as issue. But Mondale, says Shields, "is the distilled essence of the Democratic Party," not an anomaly. It's the party that must "rethink the role of the Federal Government" and that "needs new ideas," to which **Jeff Greenfield**, on ABC's *Good Morning America*, responds with a rousing "Amen." . . . Mayor **Dianne Feinstein** of San Francisco puts it simply: "The Democrats have lost their hold on the middle class." . . . Commented **David Brinkley**: "Fritz Mondale has just ended the longest voyage since **Christopher Columbus** set sail, and to find much less." . . . Mondale's greatest blooper, other than running at all, turns out to have been his "courageous" (read it foolhardy) promise to raise taxes. . . . **Jack Kemp** (who got 75 per cent of the vote in his district, by the way) says he won't be satisfied "until we win the District of Columbia, too." . . . Which, you'll not be surprised to learn, has 300,000 registered Democrats to 14,000 Republicans.

You've got to give it to the **Gipper**. His silencing of the chant "four more years" on victory night with "I think that's just been arranged," was on a par with his comment in Philadelphia the dreary morning after the Louisville debate, to wit, that Mondale's constant criticism of his Administration reminded him of **H. L. Mencken**'s comments about the Puritans having "the haunting fear that someone, somewhere may be happy."

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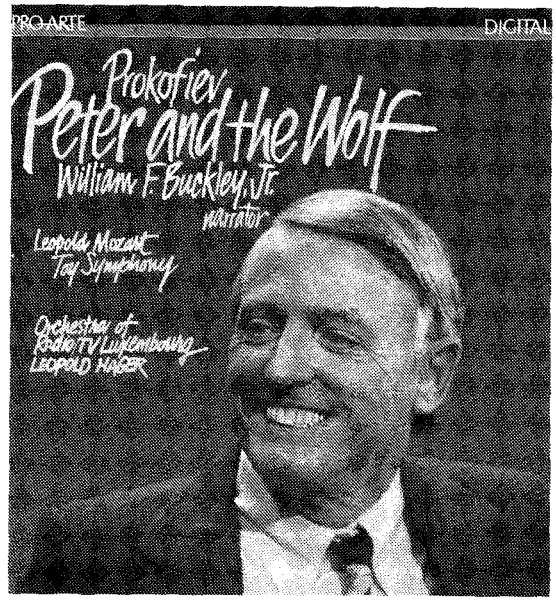

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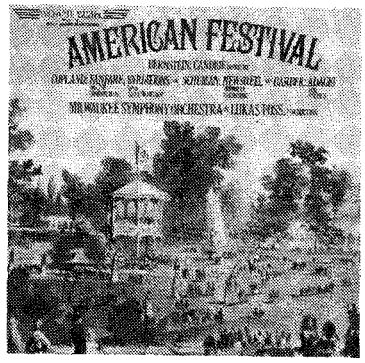

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THE WEEK

☐ Heh, heh, heh.

☐ Looks like a mandate for Armageddon.

☐ Or is it a mandate for greed and selfishness?

☐ Meet Walter Mondale, the Great Communicator. He succeeded completely in getting his message across.

☐ We confess that we went out for an early dinner, so we didn't turn on the tube until shortly after eight, by which time Ronald Reagan had already gone over the top. So we may have missed some of the early signs of shock. But there were enough blue lips and clammy skins to last the evening. There was Bruce Morton saying that Reagan had made "no promises," and therefore had "no program." Dan Rather urged the TV audience to vote: "Questions remain open . . . whether Ronald Reagan will win every state . . ." HURRY UP PLEASE IT'S TIME. Leslie Stahl cautioned that it was "a little early to tell if Ronald Reagan is going to get that mandate" (this at 10:10 EST). Tom Brokaw, watching the tide of Reagan states march across the map like a sunrise, said, "The big states of Washington, Oregon, and California . . . could [still] have a significant effect . . ." HURRY UP PLEASE IT'S TIME. HURRY UP PLEASE IT'S TIME. Oh yes, Charles Rangel (D., N.Y.) got in that he was "disappointed in the American people."

☐ Now that that little matter is taken care of, it's time for an anti-nuclear-defense system, a major cut in marginal income-tax rates, deregulation, and the dismantling of the Energy and Education Departments.

☐ Joseph Cardinal Bernardin of Chicago paid a visit to Georgetown University just before the election to deliver his familiar "seamless garment" argument. Unless abortion foes adopt a "consistent ethic" on "life issues," he contends, they will lack "credibility." But he identifies the "life issues" wholly with the liberal agenda—peace, poverty, "the plight of the homeless"—and says nothing about the family, chastity, pornography, and other unfashionably traditional concerns. The cardinal evidently sees the pro-life movement as a semi-respectable affair that must do more to enhance itself before the moral gaze of the liberals. He doesn't demand a similarly "consistent ethic" of the Left, or suggest that the "credibility" of the nuclear-freeze movement could be enhanced by a concern for the unborn. The "seamless garment" is a straitjacket for the Right.

☐ Hendrik Hertzberg, editor of *The New Republic*, contributed his mite to civility and social comity, characterizing the chiliastic speculations of fundamentalist Christians as "quite mad," "bonkers," "rattle-brained tripe," and "flat-out, lunatic-fringe, nut-case crazy." All he left out of his screed was "dirty religion." But then that is offensive talk, the kind of thing one hears only from Louis Farrakhan, about people who are forbidden to eat shellfish.

☐ The latest issue of *The New York Review of Books* has a piece on the Republican Convention (a little late, but they can afford to be leisurely about these things on Olympus), and the author is V. S. Naipaul. V. S. Naipaul? He is known, of course, for his books on Trinidad, India, Africa, Islam, South America. He is the thinking man's Baedeker to outlandish parts. No wonder the folks at *TNYRB* asked him to strap on his pith helmet and venture down to Dallas. It is not recorded whether any of his bearers were eaten by crocodiles, or delegates, but we'll wait for the hardcover collection, and hope for the best.

☐ VOICES OF MODERATION: Should children be subjected to hellfire sermons in school? Australian nuke-freezer Helen Caldicott thinks so. Visiting a Maine junior high school, she told the children that in the event of a nuclear war they would become "charcoal

Grapple and Board

While the Speaker's still in shock,
Hold him in a hammerlock.
Pass the cattle prods around;
Stick the fiscally unsound.
Confiscate all aspirin,
Then send David Stockman in.

W. H. VON DREELE

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

FACED WITH a near-total wipeout, the liberal old guard in this city, not unexpectedly, is trying desperately to stanch its wounds, to ease its pain, and to reconstitute its defenses. In full-throated cry, the libs have retreated into their fortress and raised the drawbridge, only occasionally mounting the ramparts to hurl a taunt or a seduction or a plea to the rest of the world. This is what we hear:

1. *Reagan's personality pulled the vote, not Reagan's policies.* It wasn't election night, it was Academy Awards night. "Sure, Reagan is a sweetheart of a guy, and a great American. He's also telegenic, with a half-century of acting behind him," says a liberal congressman. "That doesn't mean that people really buy his programs. He's a genial Celt, and a lucky one, armed with high-gloss, patriotic commercials that hide his programs." So Reagan the man transcended Reagan the ideologue. Beliefs, values, principles have nothing to do with Mondale's defeat.

2. *Voters took out insurance*, the surest proof that this was a personal win for Reagan, not a policy win. "In fact, to make sure that his policies *don't* get enacted," says a liberal Senate aide, "the people denied Reagan any pickups in the Senate and they cut off his coattails in the House." They rewarded a conservative grandfatherly American on election night, but they kept the reins of policymaking firmly in the hands of congressional liberals.

3. *The economy delivered the win.* Reagan was lucky enough to be on the good end of an economic cycle, and whatever recovery there is stems from crypto-Keynesianism, not supply-side economics. "Why, even his economic purists—the early ones—walked out on Reagan," notes an anti-Reagan senator. "Reagan's economics just ain't supply-side." With the fun and games now over, the American people will have to look the truth straight in the face, i.e., the crippling deficit that's keeping interest rates high. "Reagan just can't keep on writing bad checks."

4. *Reagan and Mondale both moved to the center, and they became look-alikes.* Reagan talked arms control and peace. Mondale, strength and budget austerity. The people got confused, style made the difference, Reagan won. Big deal.

5. *The patriotic binge did it.* The hostage crisis is over, Watergate is over, Vietnam is over. Reagan was at the right place at the right time. "Let's not give him credit for the nation's nostalgia trip," asserts a Democratic Hill staffer. "He didn't trigger it, he milked it."

6. *Mandates backfire.* Look at FDR when he tried to pack the Supreme Court. "Why, he had his head handed to him." Besides that, big wins create revolutions of rising expectations. "No way that Reagan can live up to the hopes that people now have. He's riding for a fall," says the same staffer.

7. *Big trouble ahead* (a variant of #6). "Who'd want to be a Republican in this Congress, House or Senate? Would you want to have to defend the deficit, the White House's tax proposals, or the right-wing social agenda?" asks Senator Joe Biden (D., Del.). You'll soon see Republicans drifting away from Reagan, especially if there's a replay of the 1982 economic turndown. Besides that, lame ducks are usually impotent, even worthless.

Two schools of thought exist on how to meet the Democratic campaign to strip Mr. Reagan of his laurels: punch back or lay back. The shrewder strategy is the latter. Let the wounded libs trumpet that November 6 was a valentine, not an election. Say nothing about how Mr. Reagan has changed the policy directions of this country in economics, foreign policy (reintroducing military power as a component thereof), national defense, intelligence, social welfare, and law & order.

Don't stress that the economy's expansion level is not a quick fix—that it's set for the long haul. Don't point out that Reagan's coattails in the House reached longer than the average gain for all re-elections of an elected President since the turn of the century, which means 1916, 1936, 1940, 1944, 1956, and 1972. Work to rehabilitate Walter Mondale, not crush him. Salute him as the leader and spokesman of the Democratic Party, a great and grand American, who lives and practices his convictions and values. Above all, help revive Fritz's liberalism.

Then, in 1988, when the Democrats march out Teddy as their nominee, with all the bands playing, the bunting waving, the balloons rising, sit back and watch realignment take place, right before your very eyes. —CATO

---

steaks" and their eyes would "literally melt down their cheeks." "If you want to live another ten years," *Human Events* quotes her as saying, "go home and tell your parents to vote for Libby Mitchell." Dr. Caldicott also described the incumbent, William Cohen, as a "corporate prostitute," compared Ronald Reagan to Jim Jones, and likened the United States to Nazi Germany.

☐ Yes, we've heard a great deal about the fear of nuclear war on the part of children, but psychiatrist Robert Coles of Harvard says that the children's attitudes reflect those of their parents. "The more I talk with children, the more I think social class and economic background and the parents' values are extremely important in determining the degree of concern children have about nuclear war." He did not find nuclear fear to a comparable degree among "ghetto children, children of working-class families, or children in Georgia, Alabama, and New Mexico." Yes, and on that cyanide-pill vote at Brown University, all you can say is that it figures.

☐ Zdzislaw M. Rurarz, a former Polish Communist "with over 36 years as a government and party official, 25 of which were in association with military intelligence" (he was the ambassador who defected to the West in 1981), ascribes, in a *Wall Street Journal* article, the murder of Father Popieluszko to the Soviet KGB. The murder was actually carried out by the Polish secret police (SB), Rurarz says, but "I can tell you with certainty that the SB is penetrated and guided by the KGB." Rurarz sees the crime as a warning to the Polish Party leader, General Jaruzelski,

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The Morning After

Brokaw's steaming; Rather's sick.
Moyers gave his chair a kick.
Chancellor will not take calls.
Jennings just defaced the walls.
Cronkite, hauled up from the crypt,
Says the decent folks got gypped.
Meanwhile, Nielsen works a mop
As the networks' ratings drop.

W. H. VON DREELE

who is seen as too nationalistic, too much a Polish patriot, and too close to the Catholic Church. The swift crackdown, by an embarrassed Jaruzelski, on his own police apparatus is most persuasive evidence that it is once again the Soviets who have struck at the Church.

☐ Comandante Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua offered a sincere, if somewhat left-handed, endorsement of Ronald Reagan on election eve, as "the head of the counter-revolution." It probably swung few if any votes, but it's the thought that counts.

☐ Ortega himself, meanwhile, running essentially unopposed, said his election would prove the Sandinistas' "resolve to allow political pluralism and freedom of expression," and predicted that the 99.9999 per cent vote in his favor would give the comandantes a mandate to proceed toward one-party pluralism and state-controlled free expression. With a little help from the Cubans, Soviets, and Eastern Europeans.

☐ Some nations sent telegrams of congratulation to President Reagan on election night, but the Soviets appear to have sent between 12 and 18 fighter planes and a number of attack helicopters to Nicaragua. A freighter carrying the disassembled planes left the Soviet Union at about the same time Foreign Minister Gromyko was chatting with President Reagan in Washington (22 years to the month after Gromyko told President Kennedy there were no missiles on their way to Cuba). U.S. intelligence tracked the freighter as it sailed around Cape Horn and up to Nicaragua's western coast. (Had it passed through the Panama Canal, it would have had to declare its cargo.) As of this writing it is not clear what type of planes are in the freighter, either subsonic Czechoslovakian Albatrosses or supersonic MiG-21s. Either way, the planes neutralize Honduran air superiority and dramatically increase Nicaragua's power in the region. The Administration had warned the Soviets that it would not tolerate fighter planes on Nicaraguan soil, and now it must get them out. Senator Moynihan has said that Democrats will support the President's efforts, but watch out for the usual hysteria in the Western press. If the reports are true, the Soviets seem to be pushing the situation in Latin America to a crisis point.

☐ Some things even a landslide can't change. The current issue of *The Nation* features two articles proving yet again that the typewriter used to convict Alger Hiss was a fake.

☐ Walter Mondale told a crowd of supporters the day after the election not to believe the results. "Don't listen to what these voters tell you; we're in this fight to the finish."

☐ We have declared Minnesota illegal. The bombing starts in five minutes.

☐ Not only did Reagan carry New York, he handily won in Gerry Ferraro's district. Come to think of it, this magazine is now produced in Reagan country.

☐ The Mondale-Ferraro ticket lost a sorely needed vote when North Carolina executed Velma Barfield just four days before the election. First woman we've executed in 22 years, and we wonder why there's a gender gap.

It Wasn't Mondale Who Lost It

A CLASSIC HISTORICAL argument goes on about the importance of individuals in history versus the importance of larger historical forces and patterns. It is of course an argument that cannot be finally resolved one way or the other, and must be taken up case by case. Did Rome produce Caesar, or did Caesar produce Rome?

Much will now be said of Mondale's defects as a candidate, and there will be speculation about the supposed strengths of Gary Hart, Mario Cuomo, Bill Bradley, and others. Mondale's defects will no doubt be exaggerated: The defeat was Mondale's fault, or Geraldine Ferraro's fault, or even John Zaccaro's fault. It was not ideological: Mondale and Mrs. Ferraro will be ritual sacrifices to save the ideological position. Or Reagan's "magic" will be blamed, his skill on TV. Or it will be a national "greed" affliction, as James Reston argues.

Mondale's campaign does indeed deserve professional criticism. He seems to view America as a collection of interest groups whose political reality is concentrated in organizations and their "spokesmen." He does not seem to have conceived of a presidential election as having to do with political entities like states and their electoral votes, and he campaigned

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among mere interest groups in states that were beyond his reach. He did not, early, consolidate his strongest electoral base in the Northeast and in the industrial Rustbelt. For all of the publicized process of interviewing prospective candidates, his vice presidential selection operation failed to uncover the landmines in the Ferraro-Zaccaro picture. We will no doubt hear much about his reedy voice, his baggy eyes, and the depressant effect of those blood-pressure medications.

Yet, on balance, Walter Mondale was a reasonable representative of the Democratic Party in its current phase. His most dramatic move—the selection of Mrs. Ferraro—confirmed his party's commitment to affirmative action. If she had been a male, she would have continued to represent Queens, New York, period. His other dramatic move, a commitment to raise taxes, was also representative of the current Democratic Party. That is, the party has become a mere income-transfer mechanism, pushing for the taxation of productive income in order to transfer it to the assorted Democratic constituency groups. Younger voters, especially, rejected this.

It is thus Mondale's very representativeness as a Democratic candidate that must be the focus of political analysis.

Much was made during the campaign of Reagan's citation of Democratic heroes of the past. And yet it has to be said that in some sense—and where it matters at the present time—the two parties have exchanged identities. On economic growth, national defense, willingness to use force to defend and expand freedom abroad, the Republican Party of today has a better claim to the Democratic tradition than the party that nominated Mondale. Can anyone imagine Franklin Roosevelt's phrase "arsenal of democracy" passing Mondale's lips? It was Truman, after all, who launched the Marshall Plan, NATO (which was saved by Reagan with the Pershing II deployment), the Truman Doctrine, the Berlin airlift, and the Korean response. It was John Kennedy who tried, however ineptly, to overthrow Castro, who vowed to "bear any burden" in the defense of freedom, and who pronounced "*Ich bin ein Berliner*" at the Wall.

The present Democratic Party has left all of that far behind. It is the party not of Henry Jackson but of Jesse Jackson.

Mondale, who would raise taxes on the private sector—that is, the productive sector—is much more a redistributor of wealth than an advocate of its creation. On Central America and elsewhere, he and his party are essentially isolationist. And on racial discrimination, he and his party are, well, essentially for it —in the form of quotas and reverse discrimination.

This is only the beginning of the indictment. But the point is clear. Mondale's party has abandoned the positions that at one point made it the majority party and has settled into a minority status at the national level.

The shift in identities between the two major parties has been confirmed by the developing electoral geography. The former New Deal/Fair Deal "solid South" is now the most Republican part of the country, a durable electoral base, with another electoral base emerging in the great Sunbelt crescent extending through Texas and Southern California, the big electoral-vote regions, but also including the "inner West" of the Great Plains and the Mountain states. This configuration does not depend upon the personality of Ronald Reagan, but began to crystallize in the watershed election of 1968, when the liberal candidate, Hubert Humphrey, could pull only about 40 per cent against the combined Nixon-Wallace vote. The 60 to 40 pattern repeated itself in 1972. It was interrupted by the aftermath of Watergate in 1976. It began to

"Not bad for an old man, Ron!"

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reassert itself in 1980. It held in 1984 and, regardless of the candidates, may well characterize the present political cycle.

Walter Mondale didn't lose this election. The overall tendency of his political party did.

Excuses, Excuses

THE REPUBLICANS have now won three landslides in the last four presidential elections—and always in races between candidates of marked ideological differences. It's getting damned hard for liberals to keep disguising the plain fact that the voters are rejecting liberal extremism. Herewith a few emerging lines of explanation, designed to obscure the obvious. Listen for them during the weeks to come.

1. Reagan really has no mandate.
2. Reagan got the votes of barely a third of the eligible voters.
3. The country, after all, is at peace.
4. The country is enjoying a Keynesian recovery.
5. Inflation is down, thanks to the greatest recession since the Thirties.
6. Reagan has moved toward the center.
7. The election was about personalities, not issues.
8. The Mondale campaign never recovered from the flap over Gerry Ferraro's finances.
9. Walter Mondale had big bags under his eyes during the second debate.
10. College kids are selfish nowadays.
11. Reagan has legitimized greed.
12. The fundamentalists helped Reagan.
13. America isn't mature enough yet for a woman Vice President.
14. The Republicans spent more money than the Democrats.
15. The opinion polls discouraged many from voting.
16. Reagan had better bumper-sticker quality.
17. Reagan wrapped himself in the flag.
18. Mondale is, well, dull.
19. Mrs. Ferraro was sometimes a little strident.
20. The Democrats never really got their act together.
21. Reagan uses the media too effectively, like all demagogues.

The Falwell Factor

THE 1984 CAMPAIGN was marked by hysteria over religion, nearly all of it coming from irreligious quarters. From the *New York Times*'s attacks on the city's new Roman Catholic archbishop to the final days, when Mr. Reagan had to answer charges that he believes Armageddon is upon us, liberals have been popping all their corks. The *Times*, usually critical of single-issue politics, said Walter Mondale's position on church and state *alone* would be reason enough to vote for him. The otherwise urbane Roger Rosenblatt writes in *Time* that "religions oppose rational processes" and that religious thinking "sets heretics on fire, promotes ignorance, inflames bigotry, encourages superstition, erases history, invades nations, and slaughters the opposition." If that is true, we certainly have a full agenda for Reagan's second term.

Now, anyone in his right mind can see that Jerry Falwell & Co. aren't going to employ fire and sword against the Time-Life Building. They pose no physical threat whatever. They do threaten the liberal symbol system, however, including the status gains of secularized intellectuals, Christian and Jewish, and this accounts for most of the hysteria. It is interesting to note that while many Orthodox Jews are comfortable with the religious New Right, secularized Christians of the National Council of Churches or the U.S. Catholic Conference are as frightened as the editors of the *New York Times* or *The New Republic*.

The only way these people can communicate their personal anxieties to the general public is by expressing them in the imagery of rack and faggot. Their fantasies translate Jerry Falwell from a menace to liberalism into a menace to the lives and limbs of all Americans. For liberal opinion, Armageddon is indeed upon us.

In a Nutshell

Fritz had a limited appeal
To Northern liberals, whose zeal
For nominating such a prune
Went over like a lead balloon.

W. H. VON DREELE

The Senate

AFTER ALL the shouting and the crying and the sweating, the Senate ended up precisely as sober analysts had been calling it for months now—a slim Democratic gain, with Republicans still firmly (53 to 47) in control.

Some of the GOP senators the Democrats had once had hopes of picking off won handily: Thad Cochran, Mississippi's first Republican senator since Reconstruction, and New Right pioneer Gordon Humphrey of New Hampshire. The man liberals had stalked most intently was, of course, Jesse Helms. James Hunt, North Carolina's moderately liberal governor, spent millions in out-of-state money. Helms saw him and raised him, and ended up winning the down-to-the-wire contest by a solid margin.

Two Republican incumbents fell. In Iowa, Tom

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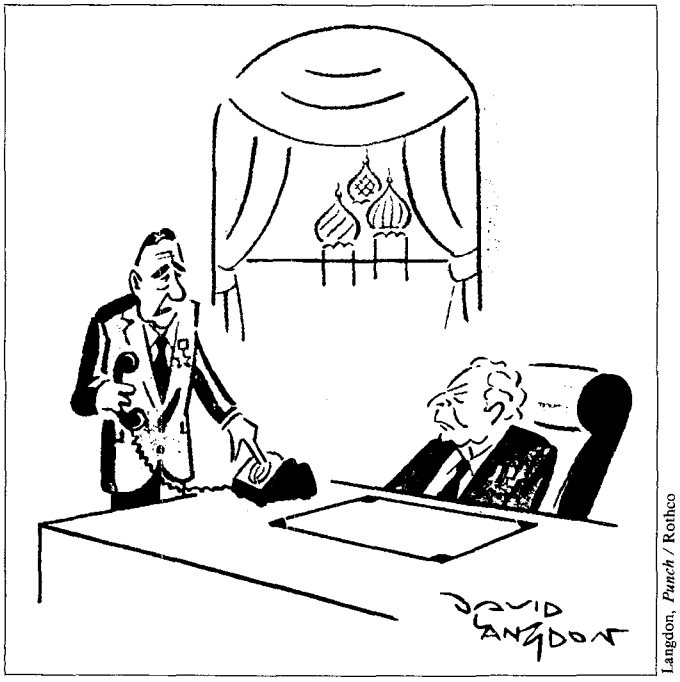
Harkin profited from farm foreclosures and the ineptitudes of Roger Jepsen (Jepsen, among other things, had once bought a membership in a massage parlor offering nude encounters). Harkin will be a pain in the neck; one of the boosters who campaigned for him was Randall Forsberg, the anti-nuke fanatic. In Illinois a period piece was carted up to the attic as Charles Percy lost to Paul Simon. Percy, once a darling of liberals and the press, had been forced to run on Reagan's record, without convincing anyone that he had seriously converted. He stood for nothing in the party, and will not be bitterly missed (Simon, alas, is a pure liberal).

Ray Shamie lost a tough one in Massachusetts. He is a genial, ethnic, tax-cutting conservative. His opponent, John Kerry, founder of Vietnam Veterans against the War, is a freak out of the Sixties, a symbol of patrician fatuity. Shamie's nomination, in an upset win over Elliot Richardson, will remain a landmark battle in the civil war within the Massachusetts Republican Party. (Francis Hatch, the GOP's 1978 gubernatorial candidate, endorsed fellow Brahmin Kerry.) In Texas, an exciting new conservative face won as Phil Gramm took the seat of retiring Senator John Tower. Gramm was the former Boll Weevil who, when Tip O'Neill read the riot act, left the Democratic Party and won re-election to the House as a Republican. The convert beat hard-core liberal Lloyd Doggett.

In Kentucky and Tennessee, the parties traded seats as incumbent Walter Huddleston was upset by Republican Mitch McConnell, and Albert Gore Jr.—owner of a famous name—took the seat vacated by Howard Baker.



Langdon, *Punch* / Rotheo

"Personally, I think Reagan's home and dry, but I'll ask Victor Louis to get the latest odds from Ladbrokes."

Beneath the purely numerical results, a deeper pattern emerges. The victories of Gramm, Helms, and Cochran reaffirm the Republican presence in the South. In presidential politics, at least, the Democrats are boxed into an increasingly desperate regional position. No Democrat, it is said, can win in the present political era without taking Texas. Yet most of the Democrats' presidential hopefuls—Bill Bradley, Mario Cuomo, Jay Rockefeller—come from the rusting Northeast. So long as the West and South remain solid for the GOP, that is not enough.

And Now?

THE 1984 ELECTION should have been a realigning election. It wasn't. The Republicans wasted—thanks in large measure to White House "pragmatism"—a chance to convert a presidential landslide into big congressional gains.

But Tip O'Neill is whistling past the graveyard when he says Ronald Reagan got "no mandate" while winning nearly every single electoral vote. Against the consoling notion that the President won only a personal victory, set the fact that since 1968 only one Democratic presidential candidate has scored more than 43 per cent of the vote. That was Jimmy Carter in 1976. And Reagan's 1984 victory demolishes the 1980 alibis (that he owed his victory to Carter's incompetence, the hostage crisis, etc.). "Historic" Republican victories are getting to be routine.

The Democrats are out of fresh ideas. What they do have is stubborn residual strength. The Census Bureau reports that 30 per cent of the population now gets some form of financial aid from Washington. That 30 per cent will do as an approximation of the Democratic base. Walter Mondale, a devout redistributionist, launched his campaign by announcing straightforwardly that he would attack the deficit by raising the taxes of the other 70 per cent. He was virtually stating a political tautology, but he thereby turned the campaign into a referendum on redistribution. Nobody can say he didn't get his message across. His main problem was that he did.

Other Democratic candidates, however, succeeded in creating the illusion of distance between themselves and the most typical Democrat of this generation. This prevented large Republican gains in Congress. Even so, the Democrats as currently constituted have nowhere to go but down. They are overcommitted to special interests that are either economically parasitic or morally repellent to much of the country. They have managed to hold their black and Jewish followings, but they have alienated many Catholics and white males. It is hard to imagine them expanding their base significantly in the future. The most that can be said for them is that they have proved tough to dislodge.

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The real Republican gains have been qualitative. The terms of national debate have changed. Jesse Helms will return to the Senate, his stature enhanced, and if Chuck Percy is out, Phil Gramm is in—a huge net plus, from the standpoint of intelligence and principle. There will be no new boondoggles, no more trashing of America, and, assuming Reagan's mandate means anything, no new taxes. Both Reagan and Mondale campaigned on the explosive issues of religion and abortion, and again Reagan showed that his "personal" popularity owes much to his frank embrace of principle. He too got his message across.

If the election wasn't all that it could have been, it was still plenty, and the situation remains fluid. It is now up to Mr. Reagan to implement the conservative agenda aggressively. It will help if he surrounds himself with advisors who believe in the aspirations he represents. The pragmatists are fine for maintaining the status quo, but it would be a pity if history were to look back on the Reagan years as an extension of the Nixon and Ford Administrations, when the Republican achievement was limited to stewardship of liberal programs.

Those Ballot Initiatives

TWO BIG tax-limitation initiatives were defeated, in California and in Michigan, and liberals are once again proclaiming that the tax revolt is dead. In reality, the tax-revolt movement may have been rescued from a blind alley and put back on the proper path for future victories.

Both Michigan's Proposal C and the California measure would have restricted not just tax hikes, but also increases in "user fees." Opponents were able to make much of these clauses: Would a town have to take a public vote before raising bus fares a nickel? Would a utility need to get a two-thirds vote of the legislature before passing on a rise in oil prices to its customers? And, in fact, it is not at all clear that clamping down on user fees would help taxpayers. It is not in the taxpayers' interest to plow ever greater subsidies into a bus system in order to keep from raising fares.

Tax-revolt leaders point out that the politicians sometimes use fees to evade existing limits on taxes; an increase in sewer charges can serve the same purpose as an increase in property taxes. Perhaps this problem can be rectified by providing that a user fee will be considered a tax only if it rises above the cost of providing the service in question. In any event, tax-revolt leaders can be expected to draft proposals to address some of these concerns; and when they do, there is every reason to expect that voters will give them an enthusiastic hearing.

In other initiatives around the country, an all-out push by the Democratic Party, combined with the usual voter tendency to turn down closely fought initiatives, succeeded in preserving the current gerrymandering of legislative districts. Elsewhere, the trend was against big government and its works. Maine voters turned down a state Equal Rights Amendment, many of them reacting to a Pennsylvania court's recent ruling that that state's ERA compels abortion funding. Missouri voters repulsed another liberal attack on the utility industry, and Arizonans were reportedly nixing an attempt to impose tight regulations on hospitals.

See and Raise

IN A last-ditch effort to shore up falling oil prices, the member nations of OPEC held an emergency meeting and announced plans to reduce their collective output of petroleum. A few years ago such an announcement would have elicited prophecies of apocalypse throughout the Western world. Today it elicits only yawns. Oil men doubt the cartel has sufficient discipline to carry through with the planned reductions; even if it did, the effect on world oil prices would be minimal. OPEC's share of global petroleum output has been dropping steadily, and it can no longer unilaterally set the price of oil. The emergency meeting, after all, was precipitated by the fact that Nigeria (an OPEC member) broke ranks and cut the price of its oil in response to a price cut by Great Britain (not an OPEC member). Both price cuts remain in effect, despite OPEC's frantic consultations.

The simple truth is that OPEC is gradually, but inexorably, breaking up. Its final demise may lie years away, but the cartel is unlikely ever again to exert the same influence on the world economy that it did in the decade following the October war of 1973. Its transformation from an awe-inspiring Frankenstein's monster to a pint-sized hobgoblin came about as a natural result of market forces that boosted production in non-OPEC nations and created a huge oil glut whose end is not in sight. The Reagan Administration, fortunately, let market forces do their work. Its cool-headed handling of the Iraqi and Iranian attacks on Persian Gulf shipping also contributed to the exorcism of OPEC's once-frightening specter. As soon as it was demonstrated that a war in the Persian Gulf did not spell disaster—that it did not even spawn gas lines—OPEC's aura was gone forever. Good riddance.

Tutu and South Africa

BISHOP DESMOND TUTU of South Africa was on "sabbatical leave" in the United States when it was announced that he had won the Nobel Peace Prize. He immediately flew home, receiving a tumultuous reception at the airport. He held a press conference

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and embraced the cause of the African National Congress, which advocates the violent overthrow of the South African government. He held a religious and political rally in his parish church. Then he flew back to the United States.

Now about all this there are several obvious points to be made. In his triumphant journey, the bishop exercised a number of important rights: freedom to travel, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of political advocacy.

Andrei Sakharov, call your office.

That is, we notice that many of those who are most vociferous in denouncing South Africa, e.g., the Reverend Jesse Jackson, are remarkably silent about Soviet tyranny and are often, as in Jackson's case, enthusiastic about Third World dictatorships, Communist and otherwise.

Bishop Tutu may not have given much thought to the likely result were the program of the African National Congress successfully carried out. Judging by the result in neighboring Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, South Africa would become another black dictatorship, probably Marxist, and certainly run along tribal lines. In the former state of Rhodesia, Robert Mugabe's Mashona tribe is entirely dominant. Furthermore, there is no possibility under such a black South African dictatorship that Bishop Tutu would be able to exercise the rights enumerated above. There is no doubt that apartheid is an ugly and awkward system, but events in Zimbabwe make it less likely than ever that we will see rapid change in South Africa. One hopes for amelioration, but it is irresponsible to ask the white South Africans to submit to the usual African formula of "one man, one vote, once."

Latin America Watch

THE SANDINISTAS were expected to get between 75 and 90 per cent of the tally, but managed only 68 per cent. Where did the rest of the vote go? Mostly to two minor opposition parties that had tried to withdraw from the election in the two weeks prior to the vote. . . . The talks in El Salvador between President Duarte and rebel leaders appear to have exacerbated the conflict there. Three days after the meeting, Duarte launched a major offensive against the congregated rebel forces. However, the offensive failed in its primary goal—the capture of leader Domingo Monterrosa and of a guerrilla radio transmitter in his possession. . . . The Salvadoran rebels have abandoned their strategy of trying to ingratiate themselves with the civilians, in favor of terror and murder in the provinces. Last summer, rebels rounded up eight officials in the village of Cacaopera, led the men out of town on leashes, and executed them. The rebels have now revisited Cacaopera in order to terrorize members of the slain men's families. . . . Leaders of the Nicaraguan Catholic Church are growing increasingly frustrated with the meddling of the United States Catholic Conference (USCC). Nicaraguan Church officials have issued protests to the USCC charging that the conference's Latin America expert, Thomas Quigley, has been hindering the Nicaraguan bishops' struggle against religious persecution. Quigley has granted interviews to Sandinista newspapers and government radio stations in which he has criticized the Nicaraguan Church leaders.

Happy Birthday, Harry!

ON NOVEMBER 28 that gentleman live oak, Henry Hazlitt, will mark his ninetieth birthday, still with a booming voice, a robust appetite, a sturdy stride, and the old Roman vigor that has been the Lord's gift to him, though of course with a bit of the wear and tear one might expect in the first century of survival. Readers who were able to follow him through the severe thrashing he handed Lord Keynes in the last issue of *NR* need not be reminded that his lucid and pugnacious spirit perdures in full flower.

But how many, seeing Mr. Hazlitt's latest piece, know that it came from a man first published in 1916? (A cogent little treatise entitled *Thinking as a Science.*) How many, reading him in the last issue, appreciated the prodigy of his life and work? Think hard, and try to find another writer who has stood before the public for almost seventy years. Not Voltaire, for the span from his first to his last work was a mere 55 years. Probably not Sophocles: From first to last he seems to have written for sixty years. And Harry hasn't stopped. He remarked to a friend not long ago, "I don't know how long I can continue to write for publication, but I'll take my typewriter with me wherever I go."

Which typewriter, and its predecessors, have seen him through editorial positions at the *Wall Street Journal*, starting in 1913, and then the *New York Evening Post*, the financial letter of the Mechanics and Metals National Bank, the *Evening Mail*, the *Herald*, the *Sun*, *The Nation* (where he was literary editor), *American Mercury* (editor), the *New York Times* 1934–1946 (i.e., when it still was a newspaper), *Newsweek* (business columnist) 1946–1966, *The Freeman* (co-editor and then editor), and well-nigh two dozen books on economics, morality, politics, and social affairs, including his best-selling *Economics in One Lesson.* His latest book, on the problem of worldwide inflation, was published only last year.

He did not marry early, but right and once for all, and Frances has stood with him these fifty years almost, contributing one may only surmise how much to the peaceable existence in which his gifts grew and were harvested. She published, too: Her *Concise Bible*,

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a mixture of narrative and excerpt, offers a limpid and beckoning introduction to Scripture.

Now all together: *For he's a jolly good fellow, / For he's a jolly good fellow, / For he's a jolly good fel-l-l-l-o-o-w . . .*

Alberta Hunter, RIP

SHE WAS BORN in Memphis, and went to Chicago at the age of 11 because she had heard that singers there could earn $10 a week. She performed with Bessie Smith, Bricktop, Louis Armstrong, you name it; wrote songs that sold in the millions. In her fifties, she became a scrub-nurse in a New York hospital.

It was not an untypical jazz biography, the bright theme and the long diminuendo, except that for Alberta Hunter, there was a coda. When she was in her eighties, friends persuaded her to perform again in a Manhattan restaurant, the Cookery, and she did so, to terrific reviews. Pretty soon you couldn't get into the place with a drill bit. She was spunky, smooth, and she incidentally gave the best answer to Freud's question, What do women want? *I want a hard workin', no shirkin', good and steady man.* Alberta Hunter died last month at the age of 89.

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I have a longtime friend who wishes to subscribe to NATIONAL REVIEW. I must admit his reasons for doing so are due to my advocacy and the brilliance that emanates from each page of your trusted magazine.

The only problem my friend has concerning subscribing to *NR* is his fear of the Soviet Union. He believes if they were to invade the United States, the first thing they would do would be to find a list of all *NR* subscribers, march them into pits, and have them shot.

Please note that only you can resolve my friend's dilemma. He promises to subscribe to *NR* if you can assure him there is no danger.

Cordially,
Kirk Michelotti
Portland, Ore.

Dear Mr. Michelotti: Why not take out the subscription in the name of Walter Mondale, c/o Your Friend? That's one possibility. Another is to have your friend enroll as a student at Brown University, where they will have cyanide handy for all emergencies. Future suggestions will be made in NATIONAL REVIEW, so your friend had better subscribe fast, or he'll miss them. Cordially, WFB

☐ Memo to: Bill
From: Priscilla

Here is a spirited letter in defense of George Bush that ran in the *Washington Post.* My nephew writes persuasively, no?

"I have before me two things: the October 29 *Doonesbury* strip in which Vice President George Bush places his 'embattled' manhood in a blind trust, and a catalogue from Banana Republic, an offbeat mail-order clothing company.

"In the latter there is an endorsement by Garry Trudeau, creator of *Doonesbury.* It seems he owns one of Banana Republic's goatskin flight jackets ($249), modeled on the navy's World War II issue. He is fond of it, and concludes his rather engaging endorsement with: 'and if someone wants to confuse me with Sam Shepherd, that's their business.'

"It is necessary only to point out that before Garry Trudeau was a twinkle in the cosmic eye, George Bush was flying combat missions in the South Pacific as the youngest pilot in the U.S. Navy (age 17). I find it ironic, to say the least, that Trudeau presumes to judge, however comically, the manhood of one whose bravery, along with that of so many others, made possible the liberties that Trudeau finds such a remunerative object of ridicule.

"Whose flight jacket is the real thing?"

Christopher Buckley
Washington, D.C.

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I thought you might enjoy this gem:

The question: In the 1980s, how many Soviet leaders does it take to change a light bulb?

The answer: None, because the average light bulb lives longer than most Soviet leaders.

Warmest regards,
Christopher Milner
Sherwood Park, Alta.

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I have been a subscriber for approximately twenty years and was recently involved in my very first game of Trivial Pursuit. I did very well and reached the center of the board, needing to answer one more question for victory.

The question was, "Who is the editor and first publisher of NATIONAL REVIEW?"

Talk about winning with a slam dunk.

Sincerely,
Norman Scherrer
Burlington, Wis.

Dear Mr. Scherrer: Trivial Pursuit! Egad. Do they also ask who discovered America? Who signed the Magna Carta? Anyway . . . congratulations. —**WFB**

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If *you* are one of the Bill Buckley fans who have asked: How can I get a copy of Buckley's *Up from Liberalism*?—here's your opportunity to finally get this famous book and save $14.00 in the bargain!

That's right: a new 25th anniversary hardcover edition of Wm. F. Buckley Jr.'s 1959 classic **Up from Liberalism** has just been released—with a brand-new introduction by the author—and it's selling in bookstores now for $16.95 (book prices are incredible these days). But if you take advantage of this special offer, you can get your own copy for **just $2.95** (with all postage and handling paid by us—you save a full $14.00).

For many years now, readers have been begging us to find them copies of this famous book; many had every **other** Buckley book and wanted to complete their collection; others had heard about it and wanted their own copy. Alas, there was nothing we could do—**Up from Liberalism** was just plain out of print. Now it's back, in a handsome new edition.

And what a treasure house it is! From the original Foreword by the late, great John Dos Passos, right through to the final page (where you get Buckley's so-often-quoted "program" for keeping America free), you find a wealth of ideas and arguments that will make it plain **why** this book was such a milestone in the revitalization of conservatism. It's not just a book you'll want for yourself: you'll start thinking of lots of **other** people you will want to read it (not least those **students** you care about).

And right in the middle of this book (pp. 101-116) you'll discover one of the greatest gems ever: the story of Paul Hughes, the fabulous confidence man who took many of the nation's most prominent (and **pious**) liberals for thousands of dollars by feeding them incredible stories about Senator Joe McCarthy (the story was **spiked** by the "major media," of course, so you'll find it here **only**—and what hilarious reading it makes!).

If you remember all the controversies and personalities of the late '50s, here's the best one-book refresher course you can find anywhere. If you're too young to have lived through it all, there's no better book to illuminate it all for you. In short, **Up from Liberalism** is a book **every** conservative will want to own.

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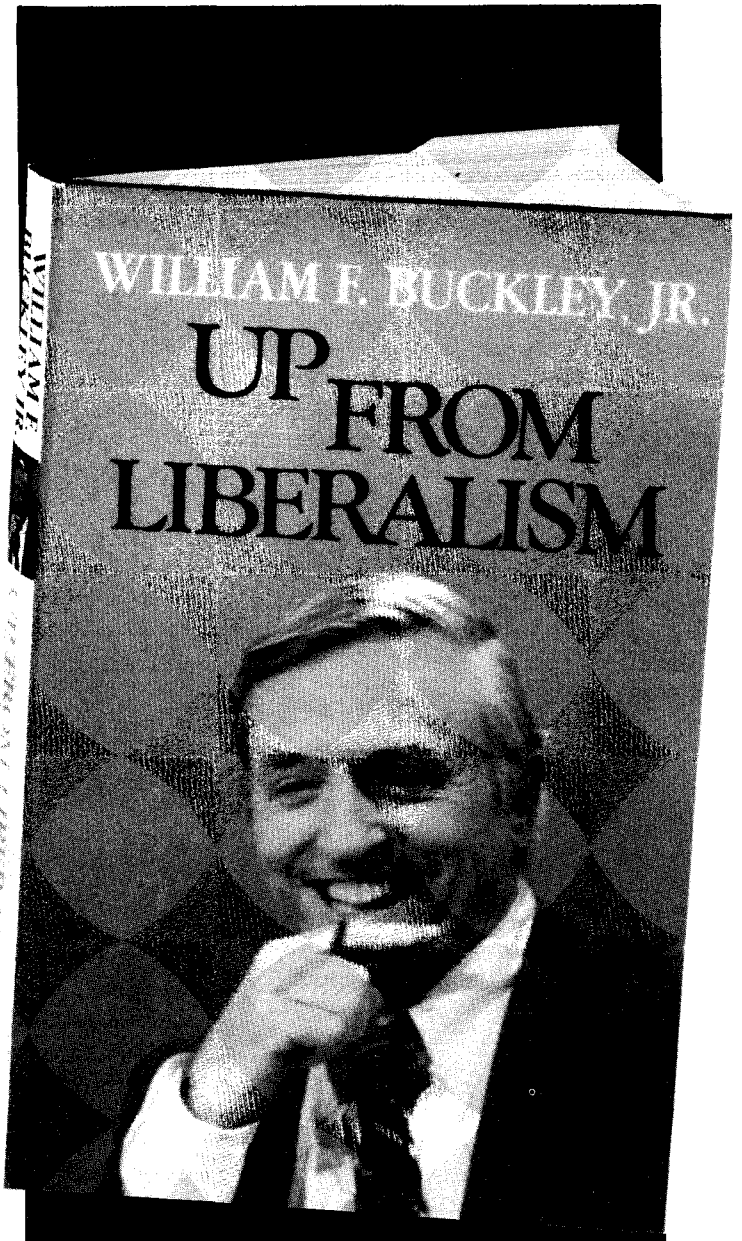

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REAGAN'S 'RIF' SONG

REDUCTION IN FORCE: that's what the Reagan folk have in mind for the Federal Government during the second term. The President's mandate demands it, they believe. "If Reagan stands for one thing," avers a White House aide, "it's shrinking the size of the government, including personnel." Such astringency will come naturally to Mr. Reagan. As governor of California, the Gipper got hooked on management during his second-to-last year and brought about various retrenchments and managerial modernizations in the state government. Earlier, as an itinerant lecturer for General Electric, he took careful note of how vastly superior the corporate sector's management was to the public sector's. During his first term as President, Mr. Reagan issued no fewer than 26 initiatives relating to the hiring, promotion, firing, and management of government personnel. J. Peter Grace's study of government waste, fraud, and abuse is a favorite of the President, one that he waves around whenever he can, even at presidential debates.

Besides Reagan, the nation at large appears to be on a management kick. *In Pursuit of Excellence*, an engrossing study of how successful corporations are managed, is still a best-seller, and one of its authors, Tom Peters, is among the nation's most popular lecturers. Remember the California initiatives of Howard Jarvis? (And other derivative referenda throughout the nation?) They were spawned in part by the suspicion of personnel waste and excess. There is popular demand that the government be fiscally lean, and Ronald Reagan is the symbol, embodiment, titular head, and spokesman of this movement.

Today, there are 2.1 million federal workers (excluding the Postal Service and the military). Of these, only 109,000 are on merit pay. Administering this structure costs $100 billion per year. Of that amount, $80 billion goes to salaries, benefits, and straight administrative costs. The undaunted and able director of Personnel Management, Donald Devine, wants to put everyone on merit pay—all 2.1 million federal workers. Devine believes that if the personnel reforms he is pushing for are enacted, $22 billion can be saved over Reagan's eight years in office.

Reaganites (chiefly Devine; Joe Wright, deputy director of the OMB; Ed Meese; and Ralph Bledsoe, executive secretary of the Cabinet Council on Management and Administration) will appoint people during Reagan's second term who are crusty, hard-nosed managerial types with proven private-sector skills. "We're scouring management journals and search circles," says a Reagan insider, "to locate the toughest, most productivity-oriented women and men who are shaking up the corporate world of the Eighties. We want 'management for performance' types. And that's what the American people want."

"Accountability is the private-sector virtue that we need, transplanted from profit-driven institutions to public-sector institutions," says a highly placed Reagan political appointee charged with personnel management. So a campaign is under way to make the Feds—from the top careerists in the senior executive service right down to the mythical GS-1 worker (only about one hundred exist)—accountable for their actions, achievements, failures, especially their failure to make tough decisions and stand by them. The problem here is that accountability is hard to install in the government because there is no market discipline permitting profits and losses to be traced to the actions and decisions of particular employees.

New and extremely tight budget systems, devised by the OMB and the Cabinet Council, will help executives spot "survivor types" who refuse to make tough decisions, preferring not to risk rocking any boats on their bureaucratic lagoons, even if productivity and cost reduction could be enhanced by a little management boldness. "Once these weak managers are identified, they'll be edged out of decisionmaking, and aggressive risk-takers moved in," observes a senior insider. "Those who can't adapt and believe only in passing it along to the taxpayer are in for a rough ride during the second term."

Watch for Reaganites also to put more emphasis on contracting out and privatization (selling off government-owned activities to corporations, *à la* Margaret Thatcher).

CONGRESS, of course, will have its say in all this. The relevant Senate subcommittee (Civil Service, Post Office, and General Services) is headed by Ted Stevens, who carries water assiduously. But on the House side, Patricia Schroeder chairs the Civil Service Subcommittee and has been less than enthusiastic about implementing the Reagan agenda. While awaiting this legislative thrust, resourceful Reaganites are reinterpreting old legislation like the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 and teasing from it legal justifications for supervisors to take the risk and, yes, goddamn it, fire somebody. As a result, court dockets are, unsurprisingly, filled with suits pressed by unions, notably the National Treasury Employees Union, and, handling the political drama, the American Federation of Government Employees. "We're wearing them down, though," says a Reagan aide. "They're almost always in retreat." We'll see.

A word of caution: Don't expect a Reagan Roto Rooter to ream out the center of the bureaucracy during his second term, or a crusade, or big firings. Only a little gentle, steady RIF-ing. Ronald Reagan will be singing his RIF song. □

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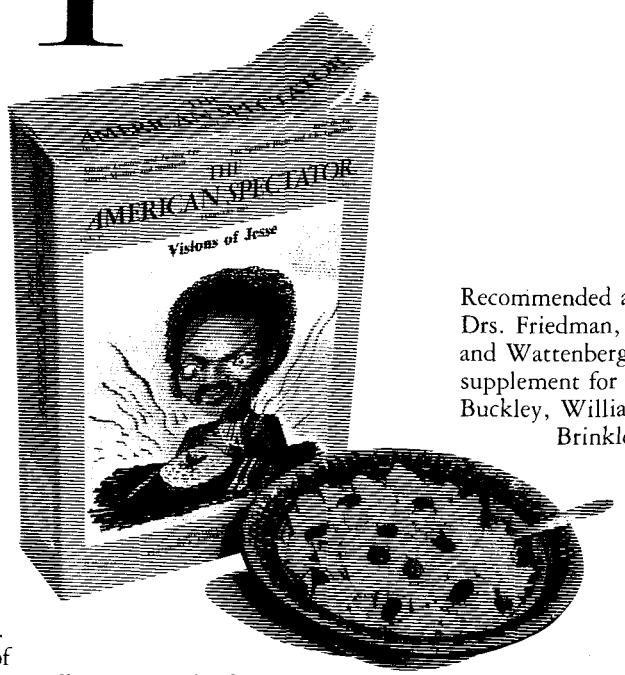
Cerebral supplement.



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BEYOND BRIGHTON

My first essay on terrorism was a chapter in my book *The Rebels*, which came out 24 years ago. As regards fundamentals, there is little to be changed. "Terrorism is a weapon of the weak." There is *coercive* terrorism, mainly to bring waverers into line on the side of the terrorists. There is *disruptive* terrorism, which exposes the incapacity of authority to prevent it. Thus, terrorists calculate, a state may be brought to the point of collapse. Alternatively, it may be forced into ever harsher repression, making itself unpopular, so that "the people" flock to the terrorists' banner.

Then there is carefully selective, *targeted* terrorism, designed to remove hate symbols and thus, it is reasoned, cause a psychological collapse, forcing authority to abandon whatever it is defending.

Needless to say, these assumptions are often shown to be miscalculations. In Uruguay and Argentina, for example, terrorism brought repression on such a scale that the terrorist organizations were smashed beyond repair.

There are, however, new dimensions of terrorism. Galloping technology (not least, jet travel and international direct-dial telephone systems) has made transnational terrorism possible. Other technological advances (miniaturization, remote-control detonation) have extended the range of possibilities and made detection more difficult.

There are interesting contrasts between the two most spectacular recent cases of terrorism: the partial destruction of the Grand Hotel in Brighton, England, on October 12, and the far more thorough destruction of the American Embassy in Beirut on September 20. Of the two, an incident of the Beirut type is by far the tougher to deal with.

The embassy itself may have been sovereign American territory, but this did not save it. Even in a country as weak and divided as Lebanon, a superpower respectful of the rules of international behavior, as is the United States, is virtually powerless to act. Moreover, the attack was the work of Shiite fanatics on a suicide mission. A trail leading to dead terrorists, who knew they were going to die, is an exercise in frustration.

The mistakes that led to this and other suicide attacks against American individuals and property in the Near and Middle East happened years ago, culminating in the fall of the Shah and the advent of a fanatical Shiite regime in Iran. Even the death of the Ayatollah, when it comes, is not going to bring a cure overnight.

Mrs. Thatcher's government, relatively speaking, has a far easier task. The incident happened on sovereign British territory, whereon, within the limits of the law, the government has freedom of action. It is theoretically not impossible that the perpetrators will be found, apprehended, and brought to justice. If that happens, it will be interesting to see whether, as suggested by the wise and ancient Judge Denning, not long retired, they are charged with "high treason," which still carries the penalty of death by hanging.

The dimensions of the act, however, in my view far transcend the mere application of individual justice, even if the hangman's rope is brought out of storage. The hopeful intent of the Provisional IRA, freely proclaimed, was to kill the prime minister and as many of her cabinet as possible. It came pretty close.

In legal terms, this may well be, as the learned judge said, an act of high treason. In political terms, and by the criteria of this column, it is an act of *war*. Understandably, our democracies are reluctant to dignify terrorists with enemy status, preferring that of "criminal." The trouble with this reticence is that terrorism goes on, and on, and on. The present wave of terrorism in Northern Ireland began in 1968. That was 16 years ago, and the end is not in sight.

During my years as director of the Institute for the Study of Conflict, I tried to advocate the concept of "internal war" for conflicts of this kind. This is indeed what it is, and if it were not, there would be no need for the British army to be involved. The attempt to restore order while respecting everybody's civil rights, including the rights of the terrorists, may be morally admirable but is surely wearing rather thin after 16 years.

In wartime, citizens understand and accept the need for a temporary suspension of certain rights, in the knowledge that it is only "for the duration." Detention without trial may be an unfortunate necessity in such conditions.

In 1972—12 long years ago—the Conservative government of Edward Heath looked as if it was moving, de facto, toward the concept of internal war. The army moved into the so-called "no go" areas of the IRA. Stern interrogation methods had brought rapid results in intelligence. There was criticism in the press and Parliament, and the government lost its nerve.

The result is that terrorism remains undefeated. It will be interesting to see whether Mrs. Thatcher will abandon the longstanding policy of successive British governments, which might be described as "containment," and substitute the more realistic one of defeating the terrorists, thus removing the blight on the lives of all who live in Northern Ireland, regardless of church affiliation.

In a democracy, such a change of course is always difficult. Indeed, it can normally be done successfully only in a climate of shock and outrage. And that is exactly the climate that prevails after the Brighton incident. The trouble is that this kind of climate never lasts very long. □

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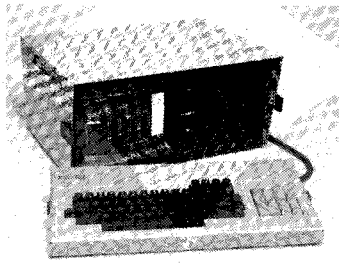

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THE AIDE ISSUE

Tom Bethell

FIRST OF ALL, let it be said, President Reagan deserves our gratitude, and our admiration. For four years he has been on the receiving end of a torrent of verbal abuse, some of it from Moscow, some of it from Democrats, much of it from our own news media (the tone and the language varied, but the accusations were much the same), and not only did he come through the ordeal cheerfully, but he displayed something approaching heroism in the way he so courteously credited his critics with good intentions. "No no no," he would repeatedly say, "I'm not trying to hurt the poor," expressing bafflement that he had once again been misunderstood. We in the audience, of course, knew that he had been understood; that his interrogators were really his accusers. How tempting to have lashed out at some point. But Reagan never did, and in that there was a touch of greatness.

Reagan's main strength as President, which is nearly always represented as his main weakness, is that he came to office armored with a philosophy of government: It should be kept to a minimum; it should adjudicate disputes between citizens, not weigh in on the side of some against others; it should encourage self-reliance, not state dependence. Abroad, the Soviet Union is the great threat to world peace, not U.S.-allied heads of non-democratic nations.

A President lacking such philosophical guidance is lost in Washington, as President Carter soon found. He could find his way on foot from the swearing-in ceremony to the White House, but once inside the Oval Office he was lost. He had intelligence, he had "knowledge," to cite Walter Mondale's favorite qualification, but he lacked a compass. Therefore he had no way of deciding which expert to listen to. Contrary to the presumption of pragmatists, no clear policy prescription can emerge from the "objective" study of conflicting expert advice.

To give one example: When Carter took office, he wondered what should be done about energy policy. Should we have a Department of Energy? Decontrol oil prices? He duly received expert advice; some said one thing, some said another, and so he studied their reports. Carter conscientiously stayed up till all hours, poring over the numbers . . . Why even their very *statistics* didn't agree; hard to tell who was really telling the truth, who was the tool of the "special interests" . . . and then, before you knew it, there were gas lines. And reports of "overcharging at the pump." So Jimmy Carter called all the experts together for an expertise summit at Camp David, and still they didn't agree. Thereupon he came down from the mountain and concluded that the American people suffered from malaise. (Translation: Energy policy to date had been based on assumptions that were at variance with human nature.)

When President Reagan took office, oil prices were decontrolled immediately. The "energy crisis," really a crisis of government trying to centralize authority, ended in the same hour. (True, Carter had started down that road, but too late.) It didn't take Reagan five minutes to arrive at this wise decision. It took philosophical orientation. ("It is better to permit people to agree with one another by price than to prevent them from doing so, therefore decontrol.") Call it ideology if you will. It doesn't matter. The "pragmatist" by contrast is someone who ends up deferring to the ideology of someone else, probably without knowing it. (Which is one reason why liberals constantly seek to disguise their ideology.)

So one is not disturbed to hear that the President takes naps in Cabinet meetings, leaves the office early, and has plenty of time to chop wood. Such a degree of relaxation in such a demanding job is almost certainly only possible in someone with confidence in his philosophical compass. The bottom line, not the fine print, is all that matters. (Does this economic proposal concentrate power in Washington, or disperse it across the country? Does this arms-control proposal allow us to utilize our technological lead, or does it prevent us from doing so?)

Consistently, Reagan has shown himself willing to decentralize power in the executive branch, that is, to delegate authority to appointees. Just as the country is so complex that only a philosophy of decentralization can meet with success, so now government itself is so elaborate that any chief executive who attempts a personal supervision of it will fail.

But this, of course, places Reagan at the mercy of his appointees. And here we come to the major anomaly of his Presidency. He has sometimes been surprisingly indifferent to the philosophical orientation of his appointees, often not bothering, apparently, to find out whether they agree with him or not. Indeed, at the all-important senior-staff level of the White House, Reagan seems to have an actual preference for aides who defer not so much to him as to the Washington consensus. According to this consensus, power in the country should be centralized (in Washington), and U.S. power abroad should be negotiated (in Geneva, perhaps).

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Reagan's willingness to appoint people who scarcely bother to conceal their disagreement with him has been interpreted as a sign of his own inner serenity, but it is more likely diffidence. It suggests that there lurks in Reagan's mind the suspicion that some of the things his adversaries say about him contain a kernel of truth ("the most ideological President of modern times"). And so he hedges his hunches with dissenters. The trouble is that it is extremely difficult for anyone to maintain his convictions when repeatedly outnumbered in argument.

Moreover, Reagan has invariably been at his best when relying on his own instincts. By contrast, when he follows the "pragmatist's" advice, which is to say the policy prescriptions of the Washington consensus, the results are lamentable: Taxes are raised in a self-defeating attempt to balance the budget; or U.S. Marines are placed in Lebanon to prevent an Israeli military victory over the PLO.

Of course, Reagan has made excellent appointments. One thinks of Jeane Kirkpatrick at the UN, Kenneth Adelman at the Arms Control agency, Tom Pauken at Action, Don Devine at the Office of Personnel Management, James Miller at the FTC, Mark Fowler at the FCC, Gerald Carmen at the General Services Administration, William Bradford Reynolds at the Justice Department, Fred Iklé and Richard Perle at Defense, Elliott Abrams and Paul Wolfowitz at the State Department, Michael Horowitz at OMB, very good appointments to the Civil Rights Commission; and at the Treasury, be it said, Donald Regan has proven himself to be far tougher than the usual Republican with Wall Street credentials.

But there have been others not so good, who might be described as belonging to the Crony Department. More generally, the problem lies within the structure and traditions of the Republican Party itself. The idea seems to be, at least among its older members, that the Republican Party is a kind of club to which you elect to pay dues at some point, perhaps because you see yourself as having under-utilized "management skills." You go on paying your dues, you attend fundraisers, then you organize them, and you probably have some wealthy friends who contribute to them. Then with a bit of luck and a good record of loyalty to the party, you may receive your reward (the American equivalent of knighthood): a high-level appointment in Washington—thought of either as the capstone to your career, or a most promising addition to your curriculum vitae.

An Appeal to Democrats

Loyalty to an institution is fine, but it is loyalty to ideas that counts in Washington. The truth is that setting a government agency on a course in which it is not already headed by bureaucratic (and Democratic) instinct is an extremely tough and demanding job. It should be thought of in terms of duty, not reward. Oh yes, crocodile tears are shed when the Republican Club duespayers arrive in Washington and request an expensive redecoration of their comfortable offices. But the truth is that Washingtonians-in-residence are delighted to be placed in nominal subservience to such overlords. Such appointees will be most courteously shown the Public Relations Department, the limousine waiting at the door, and given directions to the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. The bureaucratic labyrinth will no doubt remain undisturbed. Those vaunted management skills, insofar as they are exercised at all, will be placed at the disposal of an agenda established in the LBJ years, or perhaps FDR.

It is a well-kept Washington secret that academics often do a much better job of running government departments than anyone might have expected. (Conservatives especially tend not to expect it, because they have so much fun at the expense of professors.) Businessmen by contrast are nearly always at sea. They soon find to their dismay that there is no "bottom line" to guide them (in the balance-sheet sense); indeed, the disorienting bureaucratic tendency is to maximize expenditure rather than to minimize it; worst of all, businessmen find that when they say "jump" in Washington nothing very much seems to happen, or at least not for six months. Then they find that if they let their employees jump according to their own regimen they will get a perfectly decent press ("respected" is the word they will hear). But if they try to *make* people jump—watch out. They will find that anonymous subordinates have unpleasant things to say about them on the front page of the *Washington Post*. And it takes considerable fortitude to face that, day in, day out. The corporate world soon begins to look rosy and alluring once again.

Academics are likely to have a much clearer idea of what is going on. They arrive armed with a few ideas about policy, for one thing. The perquisites and ceremonial honors are less likely to distract them or satisfy them. Quite possibly they will become intrigued with the bureaucratic struggle itself, and the rules by which it is conducted, and set out to win it. They are less inclined to place faith in "management-control systems" and suchlike chimera. Above all they will recognize that one set of ideas can be resisted only by another.

Another important group that Reagan should not neglect is Democrats; as a former Democrat he surely knows this. In his final campaign he made an effective appeal to those Democrats who found that their party had deserted them. There are undoubtedly many who could serve his cause in Washington. But without his intervention, Republican clubmen will make every effort to parcel out posts to duespayers and fundraisers. Notice, in any event, that a sizable number of the good appointees listed above are either academics or Democrats, or (like Jeane Kirkpatrick, and William Bennett of the NEH) both.

Considering the magnitude of the task that faced him, President Reagan made an excellent start in his first term. But so much remains to be done. And he will encounter fierce resistance to any further change; he will be presented with various *faits accomplis*, deceptively assuring him of his "place in history" and needing only his signature (another tax increase, for example); he will be denigrated as a "lame duck" soon enough; and with further electoral pressure absent, the elites will tend to gain influence (admittedly this can cut both ways, but second-term precedent is not reassuring).

The task that still confronts Reagan is much more difficult than anything encountered by the earlier Democratic Presidents whose memory he has invoked, because, unlike theirs, Reagan's preferences run *counter* to the will of Washington. Without strong help from like-minded appointees, further progress will be extremely difficult, if not impossible. □

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IF NOT DETENTE

Patrick J. Buchanan

We are achieving with détente what our predecessors have been unable to achieve using the mailed fist . . . Trust us, comrades, for by 1985, as a consequence of what we are now achieving with détente, we will have achieved most of our objectives in Western Europe. We will have consolidated our position. We will have improved our economy. And a decisive shift in the correlation of forces will be such that, come 1985, we will be able to extend our will wherever we need to.

—Leonid Brezhnev, 1973, Secret Summit, Prague

THE GENERAL SECRETARY died an optimist. Yet even the vast transfers of Western grain, machinery, technology—$80 billion on credit outstanding—failed to make competitive the Marxist economies of the Warsaw Pact. The carrots of détente consumed, the bloc hungers anew. Of Brezhnev's diplomatic gains, what was not lost through Afghanistan, the crushing of Solidarity, KAL 007, and the letting of the contract on Karol Wojtyla, was blown away by the frigid winds from Moscow, when the Americans deployed the Pershing missiles.

About that "decisive shift in the correlation of forces," however, the General Secretary was prophetic. Soviet armored and infantry divisions, surface and submarine fleets, air and air defense forces dwarf in manpower and machines those of the United States. With only 40 per cent of its land-based missiles, the Strategic Rocket Forces can put five nuclear warheads on every silo, SAC and submarine base in the United States. "There is only one superpower," de Gaulle concluded after Cuba, 1962. Unfortunately, as the U.S. rout from Lebanon revealed, it is not the United States.

For the Kremlin gerontocracy, however, there is a worm in the apple. Behind the great arsenal of socialism, the Soviet society is sick. The empire is vulnerable at its extremities and rotten at the core.

Communism, once a fighting faith that inspired, is an empty church, its liturgy muttered only by uncomprehending Third World thugs anxious for the absolute power it delivers, its crimes explained away only by alienated First World intelligentsia anxious to truckle to the foreign despisers of their own societies. The Eighties' model of Alger Hiss does not sell out his country for the ideal of a classless society. The Falcon and the Snowman prefer cash and cocaine.

The centrifugal force of nationalism is pulling the Soviet empire apart. While a minority among the young are turning away from materialism to religion, a majority are taking to heart the state message, "There is no God," and emulating their Western counterparts in the mindless escape to sex and drugs. Crime is growing; alcoholism is rampant. A Russian woman will average between five and ten abortions; the Great Russians who rule the internal empire are not even reproducing themselves.

Instead of being accorded the homage and obeisance due the world's mightiest power, the Soviets watch their European colonies flirt with the West, while their old Chinese comrades bristle with defiance and hatred. Across the ocean, the leader of a supposedly decadent and declining America entertains audiences with cracks about the Soviets' "Mickey Mouse system" winding up on "the ash heap of history." The puzzlement and rage of Moscow are understandable.

A remote danger is that the troubled empire, sensing its hour of opportunity slipping away, will act rashly to translate its immense military preponderance into hegemony—over Europe or Asia. If history remains the guide, however, the cautious men in the Kremlin will be coming West—for a bailout, for an arms agreement to prevent the United States from using its advanced technology to cancel out the Soviets' numerical superiority.

The Western harbingers of a "second détente" are already chirping. Now is the time to strike a "comprehensive" deal—to trade off Star Wars for Soviet restraint in building a new generation of heavy missiles. If Mr. Reagan follows his predecessors down this primrose path, a unique place in history will be left unoccupied; he will become, in Kipling's phrase, one more "fool . . . who tried to hustle the East."

Détente was a willful act of Western self-delusion. It induced in its statesmen-progenitors, and their acolytes, a career interest in the misrepresentation of reality—even as evidence poured in that it was a fraud. The atmospherics—toasts, talks, televised treaty-signing ceremonies—diminished the vigilance of Western peoples, undermined the vital concepts of deterrence and containment, and have led logically to the moral and military disarmament of the United States.

If Asian Communists were like that clever and attractive Chou En-lai, why should 19-year-old Americans die to prevent their accession to power in Saigon? If Stalin's chair has passed to that jovial old bear, Brezhnev—ogling Jill St. John in San Clemente—why, indeed, build anymore of these "Godawful weapons"? Because Americans

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were persuaded we were entering a "generation of peace," the U.S. fleet dwindled in size from 752 ships to 473; the army lost three of its 16 divisions; U.S. fighter squadrons fell by 50 per cent to 2,400 planes. The Europeans followed suit; and superiority passed to the East. "We are achieving with détente," said Brezhnev, "what our predecessors have been unable to achieve using the mailed fist."

It is good Mr. Reagan is the Great Communicator. For his central role, for the balance of his Presidency, is a Churchillian one: to keep before his countrymen and the West the painful, ofttimes unacceptable truth that the conflict between East and West is fundamental and irreconcilable, not subject to brokering; that Lenin was right when he said a funeral dirge would be sung over one or the other.

There is an elemental reason why not one of Mr. Reagan's predecessors—not FDR with his concessions at Yalta, not Truman or Ike with the cold war, not Nixon and Kissinger with the carrots of détente, not Carter with his declaration that we were now free of our "inordinate fear of Communism"—succeeded in curbing Moscow's drive for hegemony. The Soviet will to power proceeds from the nature and ideology of the regime: It is systemic. Until the regime itself is altered, real peace is impossible.

In this sense, the "reduction of tensions" that Soviet diplomats are forever seeking (or pretending to seek) is not necessarily in the interest of the West. Reality is to be preferred to illusion. It is better for us to see the real face of Soviet Russia—the bellicose rocket-rattling at Europe, the conspicuous brutality toward Dr. Sakharov's family, the crude anti-Semitism, and General Ogarkov's bald-faced lies about the great air victory over the Sea of Japan—than the mask of détente.

If pursuit of a new détente is fruitless folly, what objective should U.S. policy pursue, to close out the decade and Mr. Reagan's Presidency?

The Political Realities

As systemic change is more likely when the Russians must cope with internal crises than when Moscow feels secure enough to go hunting in the West, U.S. policy should be directed toward exacerbating, deepening, the social, political, and economic crises gripping the bloc—without blundering into the sort of confrontation that might impel a rattled regime to exercise the final option. Raise the temperature of the frog's water one degree at a time.

1. *A strategy of denial.* Political reality precludes another grain embargo. And, given that an economic boycott could not bring down Ian Smith, an economic quarantine is unlikely to bring Chernenko and Ustinov to their knees. However, economic chaos was the climate in which Solidarity was nurtured; economic crisis forced Hungary, Yugoslavia, and China to jettison orthodoxy—and the Eastern bloc, $100 billion in debt when Belgrade's paper is added in, is starved for capital. It is in Mr. Reagan's power to veto Jaruzelski's application to the IMF, to constrict lending by American big banks, the IMF, and the World Bank to the Warsaw Pact, to force—even if the Europeans balk—the Soviet bloc to face the economic consequences of its ideology. Thrice, the U.S.—in the Twenties with Lenin's NEP, in the Forties with Lend-Lease, in the Seventies with détente—rescued the Soviet state. In 1985, Mr. Reagan should tell Mr. Gromyko, in the old party line of 1940, "This time, the Yanks are not coming."

2. *Restoration of deterrence.* Again, political reality precludes a buildup in strategic arsenals, and may require a return to Geneva and Vienna. Yet, historians will one day marvel that the greatest free nation in history chose to invest its security in pieces of paper drafted by its enemies to limit the number, and leave permanently uncamouflaged and exposed, the weapons upon which that free society's survival depended.

With Manhattan Project urgency, Mr. Reagan should test and deploy land- and space-based defensive-weapons systems to re-establish deterrence and diminish the risk of a Soviet war of desperation.

3. *A new nationalism.* Liberal internationalism is dead. When the U.S. walked out of the Law of the Sea Treaty talks, gave notice to UNESCO, the country yawned. When a deputy ambassador notified certain members of the Parliament of Man that if they did not like their American accommodations he would gladly be down at the dock to bid them a fond farewell as they sailed off into the sunset, he became the toast of the country.

4. *The new patriotism.* A new nationalism provides a heaven-sent opportunity to discard the detritus of the postwar internationalism that no longer serves U.S. interests, if ever it did: the World Bank, the UN, multilateral aid agencies, and those recurring international jamborees that instantly turn into Trash America conventions. It is criminal that the United States should foot 25 per cent of the bill for that Soviet spies' nest in Turtle Bay that has expelled Taiwan, ostracized South Africa, vilifies Israel, and speaks with routine contumely of the United States. It is an act of extortion that Congress annually conscripts the tax dollars of Americans (paying 16 per cent for unsecured loans at Chase Manhattan) to ship them through the World Bank to Deng Xiaoping (at zero per cent in fifty-year loans).

5. *Rolling back the empire.* If the *Contras* cannot rid their country of its Warsaw Pact-backed regime, the Managua portfolio should be taken away from the Contadora Group and turned over to the Southern Command. Nicaragua is the acid test of the Reagan Presidency. Post-Vietnam, post-Lebanon, if America will not remove Leninist squatters from her own backyard, no one will believe she will fight in Eastern Turkey or West Berlin.

The overthrow of the Sandinistas would, indeed, show the world America is back. It would be the death knell of the guerrillas in El Salvador, cripple Castro's lingering prestige, and be a morale-shattering defeat for revolutionary Communists throughout Latin America. At Dallas, Mr. Reagan trumpeted that in his first term not one inch of Western soil was lost to Communism: of his second term, let it be said that lost territory was recaptured.

In Bill Buckley's line, Mr. Reagan is the first President who really did not give a damn what the *New York Times* thought about him. By its standard—number of summits attended, East-West treaties signed—he cannot be a success and remain Mr. Conservative as well. His place in history is to be the President who governed while the apex of Soviet power passed; who presided when inevitable decline began. In which he was, for once, leading man. □

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THE PROSPECTS FOR REAGANOMICS II

Paul Craig Roberts

If Reagan is to achieve anything in his second term, the first thing he must do is acquire some help. He has suffered through four years with senior White House aides, Council of Economic Advisors (CEA) chairmen, and a budget director who do not echo his beliefs and who have no confidence in his policies. Conservatives might enjoy their righteous indignation at Tip O'Neill and the Democrats for "sabotaging Reagan," but most of the problem is in the Reagan Administration itself. Indeed, it is not at all clear that the Reagan Revolution will survive Reagan's re-election.

As Richard Viguerie has complained, many of the people who work for Reagan today have records of denigrating him. During his first term his aides often allowed his policies to twist slowly in the wind. After being beat up by his own government for four years, President Reagan is in danger of losing the vision that made him attractive to conservatives and to the American people. You do not have to be a "right-wing conservative" to recognize this. The liberal *Washington Post* recognized the fact halfway through Reagan's first term when an editorial writer observed that "the Reagan Presidency cannot survive either without the President's vision of what he wants to accomplish or with the whispered slander of the President from his own appointees." Conservatives can pretend that their man will "put things straight" in his second term, but he has no prospect of putting things straight if he cannot put his government straight. As the *Wall Street Journal* has regularly noted, President Reagan has proved that he is not a manager, and that is why the staffing of his government is critical. If this battle is again lost, most of the other battles will also be lost.

Assuming that Reagan can find the determination to acquire some help, what would he like to achieve and what are the prospects for success?

Reagan has made it clear that he wants further to reduce the tax rates and to simplify the tax code. There is strong bipartisan support for a fundamental reform that would broaden the tax base and lower the tax rates. On the Republican side there is the Kemp-Kasten bill. On the Democratic side there is the Bradley-Gephardt bill. And many other members of Congress in both parties have their own versions of a broad-based flat-rate tax. Policy think-tanks from the Hoover Institution to the Brookings Institution support such reforms. Reagan has some support within his Administration. Treasury Secretary Donald Regan, Assistant Secretary Manuel Johnson, and Deputy Assistant Secretary Steve Entin all support a flat-rate tax. The odds are favorable, but not if the President's budget director, the CEA chairman, and the White House chief of staff are trying to raise tax rates instead of lowering them. The President may think it doesn't matter who works for him, but I know from personal experience that it is decisive. For example, Reagan did not want to raise taxes in 1982, but senior members of his government used the media and Congress to maneuver a President, whose popularity was weakened by recession, into a situation where he had no alternative to a tax increase.

> Whatever the outcome of the struggle between President Reagan and his aides, unless the art and science of economics succumbs to a romanticized Marxism, escapes from reality into abstract mathematics, or is made irrelevant by instituting a planning system under the guise of an industrial policy, supply-side economics will ultimately prevail. We now have many decades of empirical evidence of the effects of disincentives on economic performance, ranging from China and the Soviet Union to the European welfare states. The effects of disincentives clearly thwart the intended results of central planning, government investment programs, and the maintenance of aggregate demand. On the other hand, there is an abundance of evidence of the productive effects of good incentives. Only free people are productive and forward-looking, but they cease to be free when their property rights are sacrificed to interest-group politics. Supply-side economics is the economics of a free society. It will prevail wherever freedom itself prevails.
>
> —*The Supply-Side Revolution*, by Paul Craig Roberts

Monetary Reform

A second item on the agenda is monetary reform. Proposals range from reforms that would make the Federal Reserve System accountable, on the basis of principle and well-defined law, to the re-establishment of an international gold system and fixed exchange rates. How far these reforms go will depend on the extent of public disillusionment with the results of the existing arrangements. A consensus is building that discretionary monetary policy has not been successful. When there are no clear rules, the central bank can substitute its own judgment. Since discre-

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tionary behavior is not predictable, uncertainty has risen in the financial markets. Moreover, the independence of the Federal Reserve and the secrecy with which it conducts monetary policy mean that every President risks having his policies crowded out by those of unelected officials.

In a second Reagan term there will be an effort to make the Federal Reserve more accountable by placing constraints on its behavior. Some often mentioned constraints are: 1) to require the Federal Reserve to announce publicly all policy decisions at the time they are made, 2) to make the Secretary of the Treasury a member of the Federal Open Market Committee, and 3) to make the term of office of the Federal Reserve chairman concurrent with that of the President. If these reforms do not increase the effectiveness of the Federal Reserve System to an acceptable level, they may turn out to be a first step toward more fundamental reforms.

These items, though small in number, are large in importance, and there is a chance that both tax and monetary reforms can be achieved. Another important item on the agenda is to reduce the growth in real transfer payments. Here prospects are less good. Reagan's men mishandled Social Security early in his Administration. Consequently, Reagan was forced to respond to the Democrats' demagoguery by vowing never to touch Social Security benefits. The issue may have become so politically sensitive that a solution will have to await Reagan's successor.

The Social Security problem is a long-term problem, and it is possible to deal with it without affecting Social Security benefits of current retirees. Future retirees would be affected only in the sense that the real value of their benefits would grow more slowly, but since benefits would still continue to grow, no retiree would experience an actual cut in his Social Security check. This approach would free up payroll tax revenues to support Medicare, thereby dealing with that problem as well.

"Well, we wouldn't be so endangered if you'd lay the damned eggs!"

Other items can be added to the agenda. For example, a rollback of the "voluntary" import quotas that are crowding out free trade with protectionism. But it is important not to add too much to the economic agenda, because other areas of policy also require the Administration's time, energy, and political capital.

A Growing Economy

IT IS POSSIBLE that the Administration will find it has lost control over the agenda by the time Reagan is sworn in. If the Federal Reserve Board has again erred on the side of constraint, Reagan's second term could begin with a growth recession or even a full-fledged recession. In either case the deficit projections would rise, reviving the deficit hysteria and the agitation for a tax increase. The President would find himself on the defensive, and, without strong spokesmen for his policy, he would be pushed in directions that he does not want to go. If he suffers reverses in economic policy, the Reagan Revolution may falter in other areas as well.

An economic downturn would revive the international debt crisis and worries about the stability of the banking system. Protectionist pressures would rise with unemployment, and the Administration would be forced to react rather than lead. Prospects of controlling spending would evaporate as the people's confidence in the future gave way to anxiety.

The future depends on the economy growing faster than government spending. Austerity policies applied to the private sector, such as tight money and higher taxes, automatically reduce the growth of the economy and increase the growth of government spending, thereby worsening the deficit. A proper austerity policy would apply to the government sector. But there is little prospect of controlling the growth of government when the economy is bad and people feel threatened.

The success or failure of Reagan's second term may depend largely on Federal Reserve chairman Paul Volcker. Normally, Administrations take actions to circumscribe the independence of the Fed. However, in the depths of the 1981-82 recession, there were no accomplishments that the Administration could claim other than the fall in inflation. By claiming credit for the unexpectedly sharp drop in inflation, the Administration accepted responsibility for the Fed's recession. The recession, of course, produced the deficits that endangered the tax-rate reductions, and the Administration let Volcker further off the reservation when Reagan's spokesmen blamed high interest rates on Reagan's fiscal policy and not on the Fed's monetary policy. Consequently, for the first time in history the Federal Reserve Board has achieved de facto as well as de jure independence. If the Fed makes another mistake, it is going to be very hard on Ronald Reagan and conservative causes. □

Mr. Roberts is the William E. Simon Professor of Political Economy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University. During 1981-82 he served as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Economic Policy. He is the author of The Supply-Side Revolution *(Harvard University Press).*

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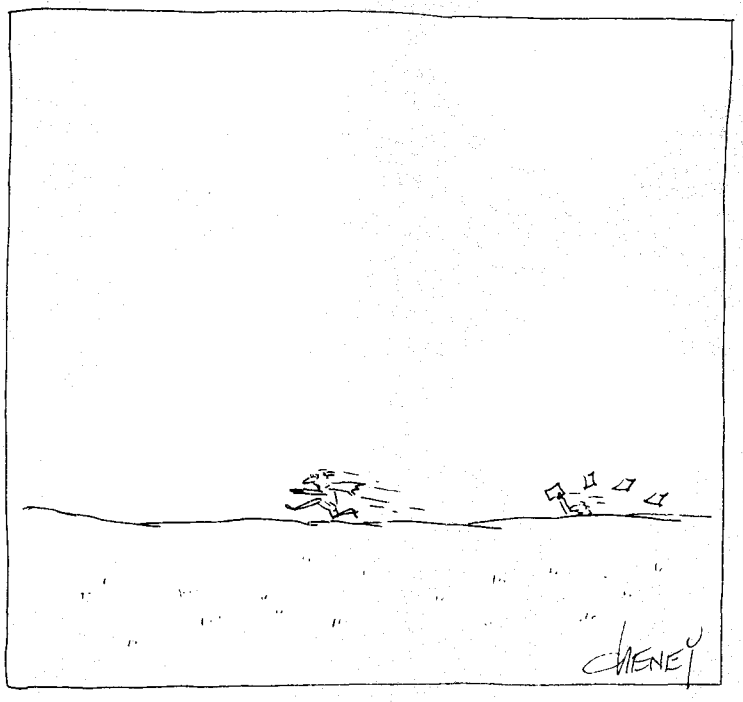
help !!!!

Ahab

Mr. Mondale, whose persona
  Mirrors Boris Karloff's style,
Looked remarkably like Jonah
  In the whale's unpleasant bile;
All of which suggests that whaling,
  As the master, Melville, told,
Poses problems when impaling,
  Though the whale be rather old.

W. H. von Dreele



On November 11, 1977, the great escape artist, Manchell the Magnificent, became the first human on record to escape from an insurance salesman in under sixty seconds.

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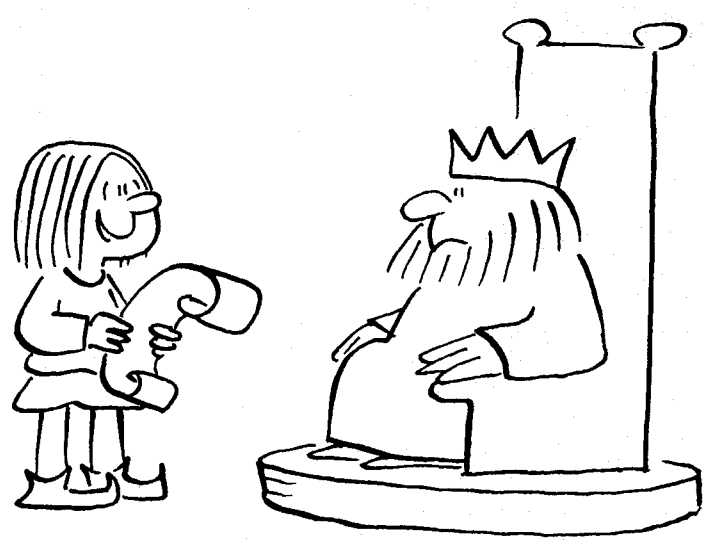

"But on the bright side, Sire, you still rate 11 points ahead of a Mongol invasion."

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THE PRICE OF LIBERTY— AND OF DEFENSE

Bruce D. Porter

THE BRITISH STATESMAN Edmund Burke, contemplating the terrors unleashed by the French Revolution, concluded that a new and frightful age was upon the world—an age that would be marked by the perpetual insecurity of nations. Burke foresaw that with the passing of Europe's golden age, "the unbought grace of life" and "the cheap defense of nations" were gone forever. He also foresaw that the emerging modern era would be dominated by "sophisters, economists, and calculators."

Two hundred years and millions of human sacrifices later, the illusion persists that the defense of nations can be bought cheaply. There is still no end of sophisters, economists, calculators, systems analysts, military reformers, and candidates for high office who claim they can defend America with less capable aircraft carriers, simpler airplanes, lighter divisions, and outmoded nuclear forces. President Reagan will be forced to contend with them throughout his second term.

Western civilization is condemned, as it were, to a Sisyphean struggle for survival. There can be no final step in the defense of the West, no miracle technology, no strategic breakthrough that will allow the burden of defense to be set aside. The fate of Sisyphus may seem hard to bear, but is it not infinitely preferable to life in a global gulag? To err on the side of too much defense may slow economic growth; to err on the side of too little is to risk our demise.

During the Carter Administration, the percentage of GNP devoted to defense dropped to 5 per cent—the lowest point in postwar American history. Years of neglect of the nation's armed forces—dating back into the Nixon and Ford Administrations—seriously weakened U.S. combat capability and readiness. The foreign-policy disasters of Carter's last year in office—the hostage crisis in Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan—underlined the international consequences of such American weakness.

Under President Reagan the proportion of GNP devoted to defense has risen to about 6.5 per cent. This remains below the proportion historically devoted to defense during most of the postwar period, despite a $116-billion defense-budget increase under Reagan. This increase has improved our combat capability and readiness, but it has not increased the overall size of U.S. forces. Nor could it have. The United States has the same number of army divisions it had in 1981, only one additional tactical air wing, fifty additional warships (largely started before 1980), and fewer ICBMs and bombers. The number of uniformed personnel has increased by less than 1 per cent. The Reagan Administration, in fact, has bought fewer M1 tanks, fewer Bradley fighting vehicles, fewer MX missiles, and fewer cruise missiles than Jimmy Carter had planned to purchase by 1984. Reagan's budget, generally speaking, proved barely sufficient to buy Carter's promises.

The money went for necessary but unglamorous items such as spare parts, ammunition, and decent salaries for servicemen. It went for research and development, whose benefits on the front line will be felt only after many years. It went for the procurement of better weapons systems—not yet in the field. But increased defense spending did not create a U.S. military leviathan; critics who speak of "an unrestrained arms race" do not know what they are talking about. U.S. forces today are no larger than

FROM 1970 TO 1976, while American and Soviet leaders held five summits and engaged in an array of arms-control negotiations with each other, the Soviet Union backed and armed the continuing infiltration of North Vietnamese troops into South Vietnam—making a peaceful settlement of the conflict impossible. The Middle East erupted and the Soviets threatened to intervene with their own troops in the conflict, prompting us to go on strategic nuclear alert. . . .

In many ways, 1979 symbolized the whole decade. During the first six months, Secretary Vance and Ambassador Dobrynin met some 25 times, followed by the Carter-Brezhnev summit in Vienna, where SALT II was signed. Still, regional crises flared. There was the flap over a Soviet brigade in Cuba; the false Soviet statements adding fuel to the already blazing fires in Iran after the American hostages were seized; and, most seriously, the massive Soviet invasion of Afghanistan . . .

Nothing on the scale of such crises has happened over the past three years.

—From a speech by Kenneth L. Adelman, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, before the World Affairs Council, in San Diego, August 30, 1984.

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four years ago and are considerably smaller than throughout most of the postwar period. President Reagan's real accomplishment is not a massive buildup, but the laying of a foundation for a far more credible defense in the future.

The continuing success of the Administration's defense policy requires that the President seize the initiative early in his second term and press relentlessly for certain high-priority items.

1. *Continue steady growth in defense, while thinning out the number of programs.* The Pentagon's most recent five-year defense plan called for a high rate of real growth—roughly 9 per cent in fiscal 1986—after which the rate of growth was projected to decline. The 1986 peak is the so-called "bow wave"—a projected massive injection of funds that has already been postponed two years by Congress. Fiscal constraints are certain to push the bow wave continually forward, wreaking havoc on orderly budgeting. Rather than trying to salvage the unsalvageable, the President should seek an early agreement with the congressional leadership on steady real growth in the range of 5 to 6 per cent each year. The Defense Department then could plan on a more realistic basis, reducing the number of programs in an overcrowded budget so that more vital programs can survive without suffering ill-conceived stretch-outs or deep cuts.

2. *Press forward with strategic modernization.* Throughout the postwar period, nuclear weapons have been the essential military ingredient of Western survival and the fundamental reason the world has avoided a general war. Winston Churchill understood their significance in 1949, when he said, "It is certain that Europe would have been Communized and London under bombardment some time ago but for the deterrent of the atomic bomb in the hands of the United States."

A widespread misconception about the U.S. nuclear arsenal is that its destructive power constantly increases. In fact, the total number of U.S. strategic launchers has declined by roughly 10 per cent. Moreover, the total megatonnage of the U.S. nuclear stockpile is near the lowest level in 25 years, with current yields about one quarter of the peak reached in the late 1950s. This decline in overall destructive power was made possible only by improving the quality and accuracy of our delivery systems. But the decline in U.S. defense spending in the last half of the 1970s interrupted this modernization. By the time President Reagan entered office, two legs of the strategic triad—land-based missiles and the bomber force—urgently required attention.

As a result, the percentage of the U.S. defense budget devoted to strategic nuclear systems has gone sharply upward since 1981—yet it remains far lower than during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Total spending on strategic weapons is now only slightly more than 10 per cent of overall defense spending. Strategic modernization is one area where the President simply should not yield.

3. *Exploit new technologies.* By the end of the century, technological advance will dramatically alter the way in which future wars are fought—or, God willing, deterred. At the forefront of this transformation will be: low-observable or "stealth" weapons, high-density microchips, technologies for achieving low-cost weaponry, "smart" conventional munitions, and new techniques that may make effective anti-ballistic missile systems possible.

It is pointless to bemoan the onrush of technology as though it, not men, were the cause of the present danger. Technology alone will not save the West, but the exploitation of it can revitalize our armed forces. The technological ingenuity of free men is one clear-cut advantage the West enjoys over the totalitarian East. It must be exploited.

4. *Change defense budgeting.* Reshaping the national-defense budget has become unwieldy, consuming needless man-years and generating budgets handled by too many fingers, budgets shaped more by inter-service rivalry and the congressional pork barrel than by sound strategy. The House-Senate Conference Report on the fiscal 1966 defense authorization bill was eight pages long, and the bill passed the Senate unanimously in one day, with no amendments. This year, the Senate report was 527 pages long, and the bill ran a ten-day gauntlet of 107 attempted amendments before passing. Legislative review of the defense budget is out of control. The Administration should consider backing those congressional leaders—Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia, for example—who seek such sensible reforms as a two-year budget cycle.

Strong leadership from the White House and the Secretary of Defense is needed if inter-service rivalry is to be overcome and the national interest made the sole arbiter of disputes. The White House should look closely at the one issue no service can touch: the possible need for organizational reform of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Office of the Secretary of Defense. Pressure for reform is mounting in Congress; rather than stonewalling, the Administration might profitably pick up the ball itself.

5. *Mount a political offensive against rising anti-NATO sentiments at home.* Shades of the Mansfield Amendment are haunting Congress once again. Pressure is growing to reduce the number of U.S. troops in Europe, or even to withdraw them entirely. Such sentiments are being voiced not only on the Left, but increasingly by prominent individuals of moderate and conservative stripe whose commitment to a strong defense is indisputable. Given the inadequate performance of certain European allies in maintaining their own defenses, the inclination to lash out is understandable. But it is dangerous. Unless we reduce the overall size of an already small army, withdrawing U.S. troops from Europe would save little or no money: The same troops must still be fed, housed, and clothed.

If the savings would be small, the costs would be enormous. Western Europe would not make yeoman sacrifices in its own defense. Instead, neutralist sentiments would rise, and weaker governments would be tempted to leave the alliance and strike separate deals with the USSR. The long-term result probably would be the dissolution of NATO and neutralization of Europe. Even if not, why play into the hands of the Kremlin, which has sought a U.S. withdrawal from Europe for nearly four decades? Why take extraordinary risks in the absence of a pressing need? The President should mount a full-scale political and diplomatic offensive aimed at making the positive case for NATO at home and abroad. □

Mr. Porter is a senior analyst for the Northrop Analysis Center in Washington, D.C., specializing in foreign affairs and defense issues. He is the author of The USSR in Third World Conflicts, *recently published by Cambridge University Press.*

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IN DEFENSE OF FLESH AND BLOOD

Joseph Sobran

THE REAGAN landslide means the time is ripe for real action on the so-called "social" issues. We used to debate about bread-and-butter issues. It is testimony to the aggression of liberalism against the culture that we now debate about flesh-and-blood issues. Abortion, homosexuality, school prayer, and the like used to be matters of consensus. Liberalism has made them matters of contention, and hypocritically pleads for the social peace it has done its best to rupture.

The primary instrument of liberal aggression has been the judiciary system. Through the use of what Justice Byron White has called "raw judicial power," the Supreme Court, followed and boosted by lower appellate courts, has done its utmost to remodel American society at the expense of traditional morality and self-government. The High Court has settled down somewhat since the mid-Seventies; but although this is a relief, it isn't enough.

Even a relatively conservative Court has a strong institutional motive to allow the major decisions of its predecessors to stand. The whole judicial mystique is on the line. Sitting Justices naturally feel that too direct a contradiction of those who have preceded them is likely to undermine their own authority, just as a pope who contradicted his predecessor would not so much strengthen himself as weaken the papacy.

If Mr. Reagan gets the chance to make two more appointments to the Supreme Court (as seems likely), he should select Justices who are willing precisely to end the era of judicial arrogance by demystifying the Court. It would be an excellent thing to destroy the aura of infallibility the Court currently enjoys, and to remind the nation that no body of nine experts can have a permanent "last word" on the meaning of the Constitution. At this point in our history it is no longer tolerable that the Court or the nation should be burdened with the fiction that a large body of decisions, many of them arbitrary and ideologically motivated, is immutable. If certain vested interests are embarrassed by the news that the Court has erred, sometimes egregiously, so be it.

Hideous as abortion-on-demand is, there is no need to submit every prospective Justice to the sort of test prescribed by the 1984 Republican platform. The candidate should not be examined on the substance of his views about "family values" or "sanctity of life," provided he understands the nature and limits of the judicial role. Fidelity to the procedures actually prescribed by the Constitution is sufficient. No Justice who had a suitably modest view of "the least dangerous branch" could have voted with the Warren and Burger majorities on so many of the crucial social issues.

It is not the business of the Court to remake society, or for that matter to restore it. Conservative activism is no remedy for liberal activism. Strict construction and due respect for the legislative branch will suffice. If not, the Administration should propose legislation limiting the Court's appellate jurisdiction, as provided in Article III, Section 2.

Redefining the Court

MR. REAGAN will have to be prepared for liberal hysteria when he redefines the Court's role. He must be ready to make the case that the dormant limiting powers—"checks and balances"—are actually meant to be *used*. The Supreme Court is not sacrosanct, and the notion that it is so is injurious to our form of government. Liberals have obvious motives for wanting to put their last stronghold beyond the democratic process, since they are losing badly at the polls. But this is the moment for a strong President to make use of the Constitution's fluidity.

In specific areas of contention, the Administration should hurry to pass a full agenda. Affirmative action is both bad and unpopular; it clearly means reverse discrimination. Lyndon Johnson instituted it by an executive order, in direct contravention of what we were explicitly assured was the motive of the 1964 Civil Rights Act; Mr. Reagan can and should repeal it with another order. His Justice Department should move to end all forced busing, which is both failed policy and a violation of parental prerogatives.

"Family values" is a phrase the President is fond of. Now it is up to him to prove he really means it. He should make it the overarching theme of his initiatives on social issues.

The family should be the focus of educational policies. Choosing schools is a key right of all parents; the public-school monopoly has been badly abused. Even now few parents are aware of their rights under the Hatch Amend-

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ment; these rights—against intrusion into children's family, moral, religious, and sexual attitudes—should be vigorously promulgated and enforced. (Anyone who doubts that such intrusion is a serious problem in public schools should read the testimony collected in *Child Abuse in the Classroom*, edited by Phyllis Schlafly.)

The Administration should promote alternatives to public education. Religious education should be understood as intrinsic to the "free exercise" of religion, and favored accordingly through tuition tax credits or, better yet, a voucher system. As things currently stand, parents who choose private schools for their children have the same relation to the public schools that religious dissenters have to an established church: Forced to support the state institution, they must pay for the institution they prefer out of their own funds, if they can still afford it by then.

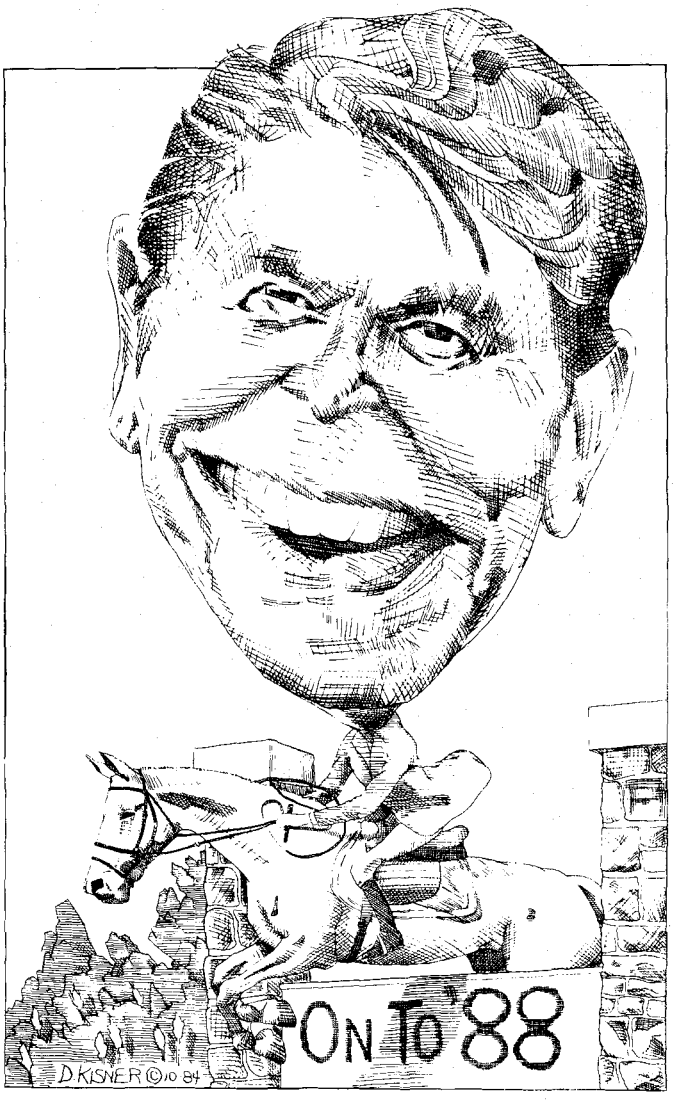
Public-school prayer as a prerogative should be restored to local school boards. They can decide whether it is advisable and how to implement it; the notion that it is unconstitutional is an utterly unhistorical aberration of the Warren Court.

Always, the Administration should stress that government in the liberal era has not been merely "neutral" toward religion and the family: It has been actively hostile to them, simply by ignoring them while promoting other causes and institutions at their expense. The tax structure has likewise become for all practical purposes punitive toward the family. The Administration's proposal to double the personal exemption to $2,000 would be only a small step toward relieving the family's inflation-imposed tax burden. (To be equivalent to the 1948 level, the exemption would have to be nearly $5,000.)

Needless to say, liberal initiatives in favor of "gay rights" and "equal pay for comparable work" should be vetoed; but there is little chance that any such measures would pass Congress in the relatively conservative climate today. The Administration should also, of course, oppose any new measures advanced in the name of "civil rights," a weasel-phrase that now stands not for limitations on the state's power over the citizen but for the very opposite: increased power over private institutions.

But it would be highly becoming to a conservative regime to take note of the devastating results—"failure" would be too feeble a word—of liberal measures designed to help black Americans. Over the past 25 years, the black illegitimacy rate has risen from 20 to 55 per cent. No simple corrective recommends itself. Patient long-term policies will have to be developed. A presidential commission should be assigned to study the impact of misguided programs on the black family and black economic efforts. As a practical beginning, minimum-wage laws can be modified for entry-level jobs and "enterprise zones" created in cities by means of special tax breaks. The entire welfare system must be redesigned to remove incentives to family dissolution. The liberal-appointed elite of "black leaders" should be bypassed, and blacks with street-level experience (clergymen, for instance) should be consulted instead.

Symbolism can't be overrated. The Reagan Administration can help blacks by visibly including them precisely because it has no self-interested reason for doing so. Mr. Reagan is peerless as the master of the gracious gesture, and there is enough genuine black talent around to make patronizing unnecessary. The size of his mandate should be sufficient to make formerly hostile blacks ready to come to terms with him.



Whatever he does, the phrase "family values" should be more than a slogan. It should stand for a conservative insight that distinguishes conservatism from both collectivism and individualist libertarianism: namely, that human nature works most happily, on the whole, through the patterned energy of the family structure. As Edmund Burke reminded his age, man's nature is prior to man's rights, and the "*real* rights of man" require a concrete footing—a home—rather than an ideological framework. Legal rights are only supplementary to a deeper kind of well-being that is prior to politics; and liberal "compassion"—what Robert Frost calls "*that tenderer-than-thou, / Collectivistic regimenting love / With which the modern world is being swept*"—is no substitute for the real affections that keep people together.

It won't do to sentimentalize family life, either, in the Victorian style. People are naturally flawed, turbulent, selfish, inconstant; their better nature needs the family, but the family also needs the reinforcement of state support. G. K. Chesterton speaks of "the modern and morbid habit of always sacrificing the normal to the abnormal"; and we have done more than enough in the way of assuring people of their "right" to do things they are bound to regret. Now we need to make it a little easier for them to lead normal lives. □

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ABROAD

ADDIS ABABA *Army Relief*

Long-circulating rumors that relief supplies sent from Western countries to alleviate endemic starvation in Ethiopia are being openly used to feed the armies of Marxist President Mengistu Haile-Mariam have now been confirmed by Western diplomats and relief observers. Ethiopian military forces have for years been occupied in fighting rebel movements in three different parts of the country: Eritrea, where the biggest and most obdurate risings have taken place; and in Tigray and Ogaden in the north and south of the country respectively. Because of the lack of any other transport, army trucks have habitually been used to transport relief foods, which over time have amounted to hundreds of millions of dollars' worth. Now soldiers have been seen openly assigning food shipments to the military, which includes a number of units of Cuban soldiers. Even with considerable Soviet help in the form of weapons and diverse military equipment, the Ethiopians have been unable to deal effectively with the rebels and have even suffered serious reverses in Eritrea and elsewhere.

ISLAMABAD *Soviet Beef*

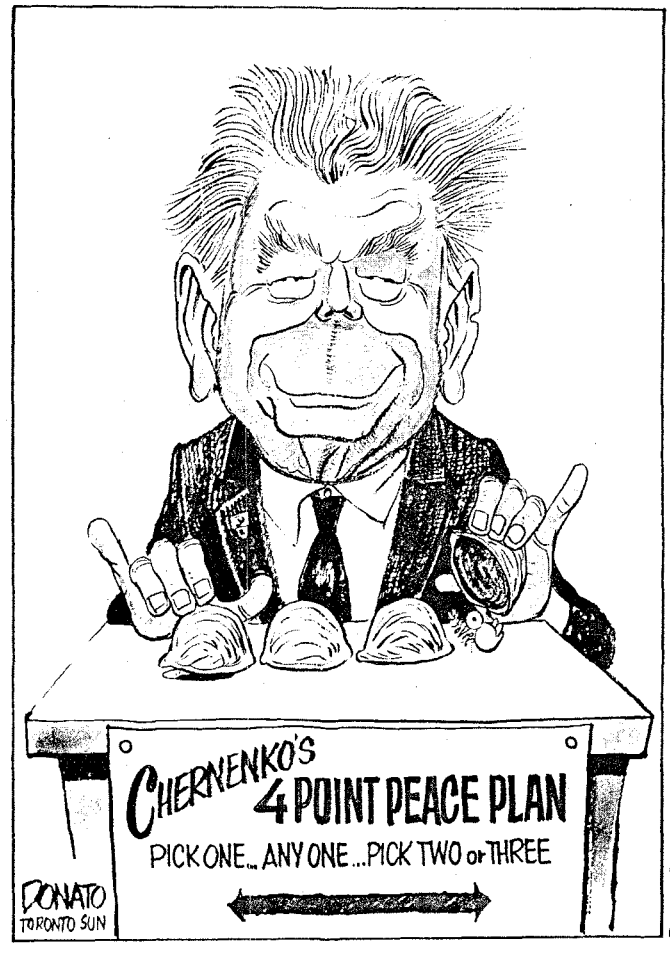
The Soviet Union is increasing its strength in occupied Afghanistan by an impressive six divisions in order to meet what it believes will be sharply stepped-up resistance activity in the winter months ahead, according to diplomatic reports from Kabul. There are already ten Russian divisions in the country; the new troops, of approximately sixty thousand men, would reinforce the garrison against attacks by guerrillas, better armed than ever, to mark the fifth anniversary in December of the Soviet invasion. Additional aircraft are also being assigned to duty in Afghanistan. The three most important Soviet air bases at Kabul, Shindand, and Baghlan are said to have become considerably busier.

SEOUL *The 38th Parallel*

North Korea has agreed to discuss far-reaching economic cooperation with the South, which could have a substantial political effect on relations between the two halves of this divided peninsula. North Korean Vice Premier Kim Hwan has written to authorities here accepting a suggestion to this effect and proposing the two sides send delegations to meet at the truce point of Panmunjom in November. This would be the first official contact between the two Koreas in four years. The North Koreans say that such an exchange might foreshadow steps toward reunification by eliminating the distrust which currently divides Korea. If the exchanges should materialize and develop, North Korea could provide raw materials for the South's sophisticated manufacturing capabilities and at the same time provide an outlet for Seoul's technology and capital goods.

ROME *Art for Take-out*

The custom of decorating government offices with art borrowed from museums is widespread in the Western world, but in Italy the situation has gotten out of hand. According to figures furnished by various state and municipal galleries, everyone is borrowing paintings from museums, especially seventeenth- and nineteenth-century canvases. In Rome, for example, seven hundred pictures have been withdrawn from the Museum of the Palazzo Venezia; 69 from the National Gallery of Antique Art (sculpture included here); and 650 from the National Gallery of Modern Art, of which 450 remained in Rome and two hundred went out of the city "on loan" to various officials. Where do they hang? In the headquarters of the Carabinieri, in the National Institution for the Blind, in the National Research Center, in the Court of Accounts, in various financial offices, in the Foreign Ministry, in the Ministry of Forests and Agriculture, in the Court of Cassation, in embassies abroad, and so on. Some of the works have been signed out, some not. Most of these pictures and sculpture are not masterpieces, yet they represent part of the national patrimony and serve as an essential link in the study of schools, styles, and individual talent. And then styles change, and some of these works might one day become extremely valuable. At present, nineteenth-century pictures are the most popular for take-out because, as one art observer says, "They have a lot of history, moderate amounts of sex, and almost no religion." Nevertheless, paintings of the early Christian martyr St. Sebastian, who is nearly always depicted stuck full of arrows, are extremely popular with financial officials and heads of budgetary departments. They evidently like to wave a hand toward the tortured saint on a nearby wall to illustrate their bureaucratic agonies.



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POISONED IVY

by Benjamin Hart

Introduction by
William F. Buckley, Jr.

A razor-sharp, acidly witty portrayal of college life in America today, by the founder of *The Dartmouth Review*, the most widely imitated dissident student newspaper in the United States today.

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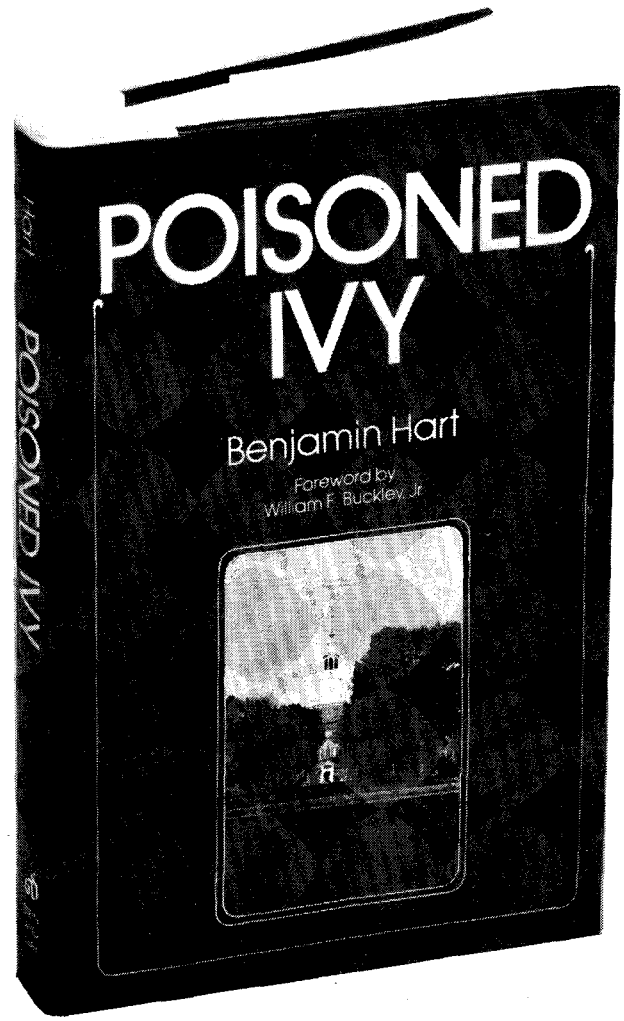

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U.S. CATHOLICS, U.S. ECONOMY

TWO PUBLIC letters from U.S. Catholics should appear just after election day. A few days prior to their annual meeting, scheduled for November 12, the U.S. Catholic bishops will have released the first draft of their important new pastoral letter on the U.S. economy. Meanwhile, a self-constituted lay commission of some thirty Catholic lay persons, led by William Simon, has scheduled its own letter on the same subject for publication on November 7. The choosing of these dates has been jointly coordinated.

The Catholic bishops will speak with the full authority of their office. The lay commission, answering the call of the bishops for a broad national debate, claims no such authority. It will be meeting the obligation assigned lay persons by Vatican Council II, that they should reflect on their own daily work in the light of the Gospels.

Complementary Letters

The members of the lay commission include Peter M. Flanigan, James Finn, James Q. Wilson, Norman Ture, J. Peter Grace, Clare Boothe Luce, Caesar Arredondo, Alberta Sbragia, Alexander M. Haig, Charles G. Tildon Jr., Ellen Wilson Fielding, Steven G. Rothmeier, George J. Gillespie III, Joe M. Haggar Jr., Joseph Alibrandi, Frank Shakespeare, Walter J. Hickel, John R. Gaines, Mary Ellen Bork, and James McFadden, president of the American Catholic Committee, in New York, and former Labor commissioner of New York City, among others. [Michael Novak is vice chairman of the commission.] William Simon, Michael Joyce, and George Gillespie conceived the idea in January 1984.

The lay commission has been cooperating with the bishops, in word and in act. It deliberately chose a release date *before* that of the bishops, to preserve the form of an advisory document and to avoid even seeming to offer a response. The commission expects that the two letters will be complementary.

It is of some historic interest that such a group of distinguished Catholic lay persons could now be collected. It seems unprecedented that laymen would issue a public statement on the relation of their religious faith to the U.S. economy.

Ninety-five years ago almost to the day, on November 9-11, 1889, the first (and only) National Congress of Catholic Laymen met in Baltimore to discuss the Catholic experience in the new land. The novelty of this new political economy—and its potential intellectual significance for Rome—was a common theme. At that time, emphasis was on the U.S. political system; today, on the U.S. economic system.

The 110-page statement of the lay commission, *Toward the Future*, begins with reflection on three passages in Matthew 25: the parable of the ten virgins (five wise, five foolish); the parable of the talents; and the passage on feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty. It then examines what Catholic social thought has taught America, and what the American experience has pioneered in practice for Catholic social thought. It makes vigorous use of the testimony of such notable U.S. Catholic bishops of the last century as Ireland, Hughes, and Spalding, as well as of Alexis de Tocqueville and Orestes Brownson.

There are three fundamental principles of Catholic social thought: the dignity of the human person, the social nature of human life, and the principle of subsidiarity (decisions should be made by those closest to the realities involved). Analogous principles have inspired many aspects of the American order, the *novus ordo seclorum* of which the Founders were so self-conscious.

Meanwhile, the American experiment in political economy—as Tocqueville saw, from a European's perspective—involved the invention of several new principles of political economy that are of high value to practical peoples everywhere. These include the practice of association, the habit of cooperation, and the "principle of self-interest rightly understood" (that is, in a way which does not divide "self" from "society").

Specific Problems

Possibly, the work of the commission will do for the U.S. economy what John Courtney Murray, SJ, did for the U.S. tradition of religious liberty—bring it squarely into the consciousness of the Catholic Church, here and abroad.

Part II of *Toward the Future* develops the theme of the "creation theology" enunciated by Pope John Paul II in *Laborem Exercens* and applies it to the many characteristics of a modern, reformed capitalism, conjoined to democracy and a vital moral order. These include the universally distributed virtue of enterprise; cross-cultural comparisons; and questions such as unions, the profit motive, "self-interest," multinational corporations, and rich and poor nations.

Part III takes up five specific problem areas in the U.S.—and the world—economy: the family, poverty and welfare, job creation, international trade, cooperation and providence (the American way of "planning").

By the time this column appears, both letters, episcopal and lay, should have been made public. To obtain the complete text of the bishops' letter contact: National Catholic News Service, 1225 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. For a copy of *Toward the Future*, write to: Lay Commission, P.O. Box 364, North Tarrytown, N.Y. 10591. □

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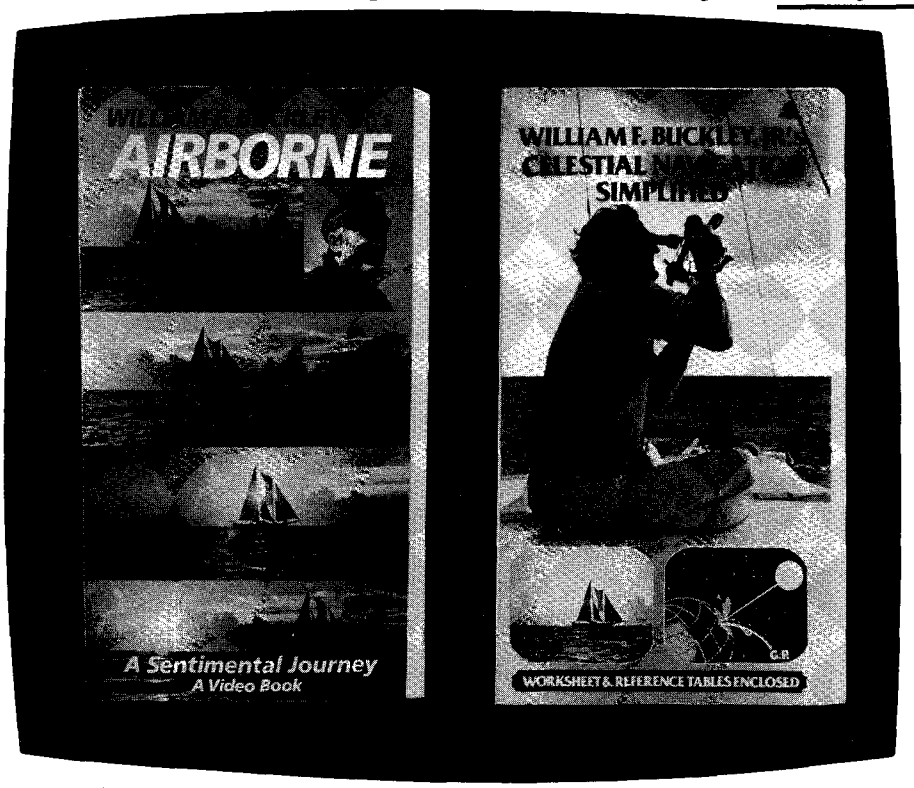

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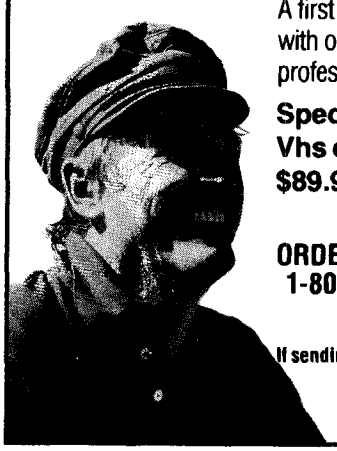

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ARMS CONTROL AND THE AMERICAN WILL

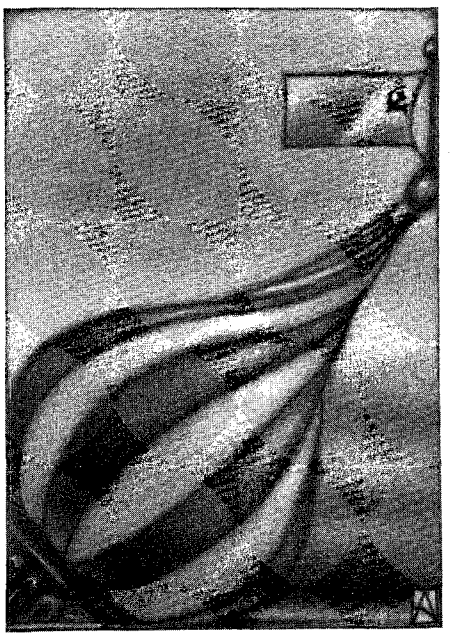
Charles Burton Marshall

The Coming Defeat of Communism, by James Burnham (John Day, 1950)

THE PARTICIPLE in the title of James Burnham's fifth book is not deterministic. As the author explains, a commander's description of victory as inevitable will often have the effect of spurring the troops to efforts indispensable to the goal rather than lulling them with notions of preordained success. *The Coming Defeat of Communism* is a summons for generating national will and resources to contest "the world Communist movement, with its Soviet base" and with its enduring aim of "monolithic world domination."

Despite some marginal doubts, I found the core argument cogent at first reading 34 years ago. Soon—to be precise, on June 1, 1950, my first day on the State Department's Policy Planning Staff—my new superior, Paul H. Nitze, told me to acquaint myself at once with NSC-68, an interdepartmental top-secret venture in strategic planning, the first of its kind, then awaiting President Truman's final approval. In explaining its genesis he specified Burnham's book as the main intellectual stimulus. (Burnham professed surprise when I mentioned this linkage to him five years or so ago.)

The dynamics of intervening decades have in some respects dated the book and the (now declassified) document that it fostered. Both still stand, though, as models of their kind for plain language, strong analysis, and clear prescription. Their basic concepts remain pertinent, in particular those concerning the irreconcilable images of the future entertained by the two societies pre-eminent in world affairs as a result of the outcome of World War II, and concerning the essential (though not exclusive) relevance of military strength, both potential and ready, in the indeterminate contest of purpose between them.



The now re-elected Reagan Administration may find circumstances propitious for producing an updated policy paper matching NSC-68 in scope and clarity. A refresher in strategic basics is never amiss. Besides, a miscellany of issues involving the correlation between military capabilities and national purpose will soon require decision. No bi-partisan consensus exists today—a condition manifest in the Democratic Party's 1984 platform and in its national campaign. No post-election honeymoon with the Democrats in Congress can be counted on. The Administration's advocacy will have to be strong and articulate to prevail in the Capitol. Too bad that Burnham, now retired from public polemics, is not in a position to replicate *The Coming Defeat of Communism* in the context of the present time.

One of my marginal doubts as of 34 years ago—a doubt substantiated, I think, by certain fiascos in Eisenhower's time—concerned Burnham's confidence in the practicability of covertly abetting internal divisions in the Soviet realm so as to foreclose its eventual emergence intact as a strategic nuclear rival of the United States. That dire eventuality foreseen by Burnham, now a long-established fact, relates to the aspect of policy on which most of all I wish his wisdom were currently available: arms control, or the idea of reciprocal engagements between or among organized societies for restricting the invention, accumulation, and deployment of specialized instrumentalities for conducting hostilities.

The 167-year-old demilitarization of the U.S.-Canadian boundary attests utility in the idea. Arms control has been of help as between the rival superpowers in aspects not bearing directly

Looking toward a second Reagan Administration, the editors have selected what in their opinion seemed to be the most significant—or among the most significant—books to appear in recent decades concerning matters of public policy in a variety of areas; and, where possible, arranged for their authors to comment upon the relevancy of these works to the debates of the next four years. In cases where such arrangements proved impossible, they have invited qualified commentators to act as substitute reviewers, encouraging them in several instances to extend their remarks beyond an evaluation of the titles themselves to offer an assessment of the broader subject. Editions cited represent the most recent hardcover printings extant (where no price is given, the book is out of print), except for one forthcoming paperback edition. —CW

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on strategic ratios. The trouble comes from overvaluing arms control as devotees do when they implicitly give it primacy over national security or when, in extreme cases, they attribute to its rituals a sort of sacramental redemptiveness that works by being believed in. Devotees—including members of a numerous profession that prospers on government and foundation subventions—would scorn this thought even as chiropractors would resist doubts about the value of spine-pummeling, but, as technology disestablishes old assumptions and categories, arms control in its customary formulations may be losing its relevance for superpower strategic ratios.

For a considerable time the pertinent debate will probably follow well-worn grooves. Proponents of arms control as an end in itself will deploy simple (see Proverbs 1:22) formulations—a mutual and verifiable nuclear freeze, keep the heavens safe for peace, and so on. They will persist in anchoring strategic stability to Mutual Assured Destruction, just as Walter Mondale did in the candidates' second beauty pageant. Those on the other side will do as best they can with strategic complexities resistant to billboard brevification. The media will sort things out as a contention between doves and hawks, overlooking the possibility that what is needed is owls.

That avian reference brings Burnham back to mind in connection with a critical juncture—perhaps *the* critical juncture—in prospect. That will be the moment of decision whether to persevere with the Reagan Space Defense Initiative or to mortgage it (more or less in the mode ordained by Congress for the MX program) for some reformulation of MAD. The Soviet Union can be counted on to press and cajole the U.S. toward the second course, as it is already doing. Burnham's book has words for that crux:

> The United States is not, not by centuries, ready to quit. The United States is, in [Halford] Mackinder's meaning, *a going concern*; and a young concern. It may be that Western civilization as a whole is old and decadent—relatively old, that is to say, on the vast time scale of the histories of civilizations. . . . If so, the United States is the youngest child of Western civilization, its Joseph, who has not only his own manhood ahead, but the chance through his strength to revivify his parent. . . .
>
> The uneasiness of the United States is not that of the awareness of death, but, rather, the tormenting pause before the leap into maturity. The will to exist and to advance is powerfully there, though for the moment in partial suspension. Because it is there, the suspension will be, sooner or later, resolved. The political question will be answered; the objective, attained: at a greater cost, perhaps, and greater delay and suffering than need be; but attained. □

MORAL MEANING

TOWARD A DEMOCRATIC CENTURY

Richard John Neuhaus

The Naked Public Square, by Richard John Neuhaus (Eerdmans, 280 pp., $16.95)

"A SOCIETY," wrote Emile Durkheim, "is above all the idea that it forms of itself." The potentially historic importance of the Reagan years will be the ways in which they reshape America's self-understanding. I emphasize "potentially," for the first term is a record of, at best, shaky beginnings. I hope that in the next four years President Reagan will yet more effectively use the bully pulpit to revive the understanding that America is an experiment based upon a proposition. An experiment is open-ended, adventuresome, and filled with uncertainties calling forth faith and courage. A proposition is tested by being contested, and the democratic proposition is severely contested indeed.

Politics is in largest part a function of culture, and at the heart of culture is religion. By religion I mean not only that which calls itself religious, but those ideas by which we acknowledge ourselves to be bound and obligated. President Reagan should not try to put the religion-and-politics debate of the 1984 campaign behind him, but should rather build upon it. We need to have not only a "democracy project" (or two, or three) but a new understanding of our society as the leading democracy project of modern times. (There is delicious irony in the prospect that a Republican President might be remembered for co-opting and transforming our ideas of what it means to be democratic.)

The long-term enterprise, to which the next four years could be critical, is the reconstruction of a public philosophy that will restore moral meaning to America and a sense of urgency about its role in the world. Unlike the efforts of Lippmann, Dewey, and others, such a public philosophy must be derived from and attuned to the actual beliefs of the American people, which are patently grounded in Judaeo-Christian teachings. We must move beyond the confusions resulting from the long-standing elitist notion that America is, or is rapidly becoming, a secular society. The desired reconstruction requires the engagement of, among others, *all* sectors of religious leadership. The President should by no means repudiate his ties to the religious New Right and to traditionalist Catholics. He has, in complex ways, been important to their inclusion in the national discourse, as they were important in his re-election. But the necessary partisanship of the campaign must now give way to a more inclusive discussion about the idea that America might form of itself.

It is widely—and I suspect rightly—thought that, with Reagan's re-election accomplished, the battle for the future of the Republican Party begins in earnest. In this battle it will quickly become evident, I believe, that sectors of the religious New Right have as little use for the democratic idea as do

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David Brooks is an associate editor of NR*; as of January, he will be a Media Fellow at the Hoover Institution.*

George Gilder is the author of many books, including the best-selling Wealth and Poverty, *and* The Spirit of Enterprise, *published last month by Simon & Schuster.*

Richard Grenier's novel, The Marrakesh One-Two, *has just been published in paperback by Penguin.*

Charles Burton Marshall is a consultant on national-security policy.

Samuel McCracken is assistant to the president of Boston University.

Richard John Neuhaus is director of the Center on Religion and Society, in New York City.

Roger Starr is a member of the New York Times *editorial board and has written frequently on issues of urban policy.*

Jude Wanniski is president of Polyconomics, Inc., specialists in political and economic communications, in Morristown, New Jersey.

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RANDOM NOTES

☐ LEFT OVER FROM OCTOBER: *Assured Survival: Putting the Star Wars Defense in Perspective* (Houghton Mifflin, $15.95), by Ben Bova, argues that President Reagan's Star Wars speech of March 1983 marks a departure from the concept of Mutual Assured Destruction, and he suggests that in the kind of technology envisioned by this new approach to defense may lie mankind's best hope of avoiding technological destruction.

All the Olympians: A Biographical Portrait of the Irish Literary Renaissance (Atheneum, $18.95), by Ulick O'Connor, looks to be an excellent literary history enlivened by keenly adept portraiture.

☐ NOW AVAILABLE: *The Pope and the Jesuits: John Paul II and the New Order in the Society of Jesus* (The National Committee of Catholic Laymen, Inc., 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016; $3.95), by James Hitchcock and with an Introduction by Joseph Sobran, concludes that if the Jesuits fail to "experience a second rebirth" of loyalty to the papacy, they may easily "pass into history along with numerous other religious communities which simply lost their reason for existing."

☐ MORE NOVEMBER TITLES: *Balanchine: A Biography* (Times, $19.95), by Bernard Taper, brings up to date a work that began as a *New Yorker* profile, was twice expanded and printed in book form (1963, 1974), and is now revised for a third time to include an account of the choreographer's last ten years.

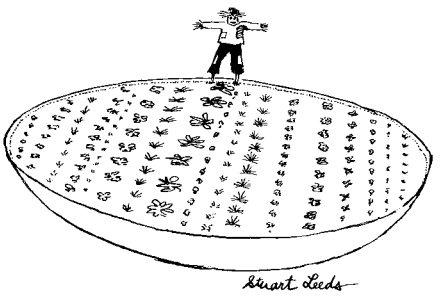
Robert Descharnes's *Dali: The Work, the Man* (Abrams, $145), translated by Eleanor Morse, honors the painter's eightieth birthday and may well be the most comprehensive work on its subject to date. Nearly two-thirds of the 1,117 plates are in color, which accounts in part for the price tag.

Ivy: The Life of I. Compton-Burnett (Knopf, $22.95), by Hilary Spurling, is an excellent biography of an idiosyncratic woman who was also a sophisticated novelist, by the author of a study of Anthony Powell. —CW

large sectors of the religious Left. The President is ideally placed to be a moderator and exemplar of civility in this debate. This means that he should repeatedly press, as he did at that prayer breakfast at the Dallas Convention, the unbreakable connections between politics and moral judgment, and between moral judgment and religious belief. The great peril to the democratic idea, and to Western culture itself, is posed by those who would eviscerate our public life by excluding transcendent moral referents.

However, President Reagan must not, as he also did at Dallas, indulge in wholesale impugning of the motives of those who arrive at different moral judgments regarding policy specifics. The President should make clear that the debate over religion and politics is not one that divides Republicans from Democrats, or the Left from the Right, but one that requires the involvement of all who accept the politics/morality/religion connection. A great contribution of the 1984 campaign is that it may have finally discredited the spurious notion that "religion and politics don't mix"; the question now is how that mixing should be understood and, beyond that, how we should couch moral arguments (including religiously grounded moral arguments) in public. The goal is the development of a shared moral vocabulary whereby questions of great moral moment can be debated in the public arena. We have not had such a vocabulary in America for a very long time.

More specifically: President Reagan should make a determined effort to revive the global focus on human rights, but this time emphasizing religious freedom as the source and foundation of all democratic rights. This can provide a coherent tie to the "free exercise" issues in our society, underscoring the need to resist government encroachment upon religion. In addition, a reconstruction of public philosophy requires a new linkage—in both ideas and behavior—between public and personal virtue. It is not the most important item, but it is not unimportant, that in his second term the President make this linkage more visible in his own life. Some of his evangelical supporters have decried the deficiencies in his evident concern for his own family, his habits of churchgoing, his charitable giving, and his apparent aloofness from the poor and the marginal; and they are right.



Critical to the hopes advanced here is that abortion be removed from its present status as the most fevered issue directly engaging politics and religiously based moral judgment. *Roe* v. *Wade* must be dramatically tempered or reversed. The abortion question will not be "resolved" to the satisfaction of many, but it can be deprived of its polarizing potency, which currently skews all thinking about politics/morality/religion. Similarly, the other more egregiously secularizing assaults upon popular values (such as those related to religion and education) can be largely undone in a second term. At least the direction of public endeavors can be firmly altered, in both legislatures and courts.

Finally, a more believable and imaginative concern for the poor, both globally and domestically, must mark Mr. Reagan's second term. To relinquish this concern to the Left is politically dumb. More important, it undercuts the needed revival of a philosophy premised upon the Judaeo-Christian tradition, for that tradition is incorrigibly preoccupied with those who live along the fault lines of all social orders. Domestically, in his second term, the President should get serious about redesigning social policies along the lines of what Peter Berger and I have called the "mediating structures" of family, church, voluntary association, and neighborhood. The tedious disputes of the past four years about who is spending more or less on the old policies must now give way to a thorough reconceptualization of social policy as such. Globally, the argument must be made—and the evidence more effectively displayed—that it is most specifically the poor of the world who have a deep stake in the future of democratic freedom, whose chief opponent is Marxism in its myriad varieties. It is important and true to declare the exhaustion of Marxism in both theory and practice; it is as important and more difficult to demonstrate democracy's lively alternative.

Durkheim got it right; and so the most important thing about the Reagan years will be the contribution they make, or fail to make, to the idea we form of ourselves. If American leader-

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nce upon a time,

long, long ago, we had what we thought was a very good idea, which was: Why not ask our own readers to help us find *new* readers? Heavens no! said wiser heads than ours (we were very new at this kind of thing), that's just plain asking too much of *anybody*. Oho, we answered, but our readers *aren't* just anybody, and we can't broadcast invitations like mass-circulation magazines and take on anyone who answers. No, the people we must look for are people very much like the readers we already have—people with similar ideas and outlook, tastes and values—the very ones, it seems logical to assume, who are much better known to *you* than to us, because they are your friends and relations and business associates, etc. And lo these many years we have asked our readers to rrriiippp out a postcard (just like the one facing this page) and use it to introduce some worthy friend to NR—give it to him with your recommendation, or use it to send an introductory gift subscription. And you have: thousands of you have done this simple but invaluable favor for us (some of you many, many times!). Without that kind of help from you, NR could never have become what indeed it has become—one of America's most influential publications. Influence someone *you* know today. **As we so often say, just use the card facing this page today!**

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ship, including religious leadership, is encouraged to redefine this Republic as an experiment in virtue and freedom, the next century may not be the American century, but it could well be the democratic century. □

SUPPLY SIDE

EXPORTING THE REVOLUTION

Jude Wanniski

The Way the World Works, by Jude Wanniski (Basic, 1978)

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S election in 1980 was as much a victory for a set of ideas as it was a personal triumph. It is conceivable that he could have won without the benefit of supply-side economics, but the fact is that the economic-growth model designed by supply-siders was the distinguishing feature of the Reagan campaign. Its success has given the President a second term in which to continue the Reagan Revolution, which is very much a supply-side revolution.

A successful revolution completely overturns an established order. In the world of ideas, the clearest example is the Copernican Revolution, which upended the Ptolemaic theory, demonstrating that the earth revolves around the sun and not vice versa. In economic theory, either the economy revolves around the producer (the supplier of goods) or it revolves around the consumer (the demander of goods). For half a century, most economists in the Western world have been trained to focus on consumption, the government management of aggregate demand. Supply-siders aim at nothing less than the overturning of this established order, a process that only began with Ronald Reagan's first term. The ultimate objective, though, is not simply the displacement of one idea by another, but rather the spreading of democratic capitalism as a system of political economy throughout the world. The demand-management models, which produced stagflation at home and around the world, brought the United States a loss of influence and prestige globally, inviting Marxist-Leninist experiments that also fail to produce stable growth.

In his first four years in office, President Reagan ended stagflation at home, combining policies of monetary restraint and tax-incentive fiscal ease. Not everything went according to the supply-side plan, however: The Federal Reserve's monetary restraint of 1981-82 was excessively deflationary, producing a dramatic recession and enormous budget deficits. It was for this reason that supply-siders in 1981 argued loudly for a return to a gold-based monetary system in order to prevent future monetary inflations and deflations, and thereby bring long-term interest rates to their traditional low levels.

If the President's second term is to follow a supply-side plan, preventing recession without re-igniting inflation, there will have to be a gold-based monetary reform as well as the tax simplification the President has promised. Once this has been accomplished, continued robust economic growth and the refinancing of the national debt at low interest rates will systematically whittle away the budget deficit. The orthodox economists in both political parties would have the President confront the deficit head on with major tax increases. This approach, rejected in the GOP platform, would send the economy back into stagnation and actually increase the deficit.

The Reagan Administration paid scant attention to foreign economic policy in its first term. This was probably inevitable, given the profound problems in the domestic economy that Mr. Reagan inherited. Nonetheless, the White House simply permitted the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to carry forward austerity policies in the developing world, thus assuring that development will not take place. Here too, the 1984 Republican platform supports a change in U.S. policy, specifically urging the multinational institutions to replace their austerity model with a supply-side, incentive-oriented growth model.

This could and should be the greatest achievement of President Reagan's second term: encouraging the impoverished and struggling nations of the Third World to adopt the economic reforms that would lead them to national prosperity—low tax rates, stable currencies, and market economies. The process will not be easy and may carry into the next century. The elite establishments in the West, as well as in the Third World countries themselves, have vested interests that they fear will be challenged by economic growth. But President Reagan can get things going.

In my book *The Way the World Works*, published in 1978, I documented the fact that tax rates in the poor countries are significantly higher than in the developed world. Gunnar Myrdal, the noted Swedish economist, had written in his *Asian Drama* (1968) that in the colonial era the mother countries had purposely imposed high tax rates on the citizens of their colonies to keep them from gaining a competitive advantage in manufacturing. "In the independence era," he wrote, "tax rates have been raised considerably, with the result that now, marginal rates in the highest brackets tend to be as high as, or even higher than, those in the Western countries."

Although the West has paid lip service to Third World development in the intervening years, it has done so by encouraging "foreign aid" that merely benefits Western exporters of goods

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to the Third World. Not a finger has been lifted by Western heads of state to invite the Third World to lower those oppressive taxes, possibly because of the fear that global economic development would increase the competitive challenge to the West. The Third World debt crisis is now a threat because the West, through the IMF, has made it ever more difficult for the developing world to develop. The only way the Third World can pay back its Western debts is by exporting goods to us, but its economies remain stifled by confiscatory tax systems that produce trifling revenues.

The economists and policymakers of the West who have encouraged or in some cases imposed these perverse policies on the Third World argue that it is overpopulation and high birth rates that are the root cause of poverty. In this last year of his first term, President Reagan has taken exactly the opposite stand: that the "population problem" can only be cured by economic growth. It only remains for the U.S. to promote an economic-growth model that will work—the same supply-side model that has worked at home.

As an example, Bangladesh, among the poorest countries on earth, has ninety million people living in an area the size of Florida. The national government collects total revenues from all tax sources yielding a mere $1 billion a year. Its personal income tax exacts a marginal rate of 67 per cent at a mere $8,000, with 50 per cent hitting at about $4,000. Revenues from this source amount to less than $50 million a year. The tax system by itself keeps the nation submerged in squalor.

Ronald Reagan has revived the American economy and restored the country to its position of power and prestige as the world's leader. He has done so largely by ignoring conventional economic wisdom. In the years ahead, the growth model that served to bring the U.S. from its colonial beginnings to world power will become conventional wisdom. It is actually possible to imagine the Reagan Revolution leading to a century of worldwide peace and prosperity. □

ENERGY

THE SAME AND MORE

Samuel McCracken

The War against the Atom, by Samuel McCracken (Basic, 206 pp., $18.50)

OVER THE past two decades science and technology have increasingly become wards of the Federal Government. In terms of cash flow, they have been doing well, but judged by the quality of their life, the government is open to serious charges of child abuse. President Reagan, in his second term, will have important opportunities to remedy matters. Two areas are especially noteworthy: energy and transportation.

The President's policies on energy ought to be compounded about equally of more of the same and of something new. More of the same for petroleum: When Mr. Reagan considered

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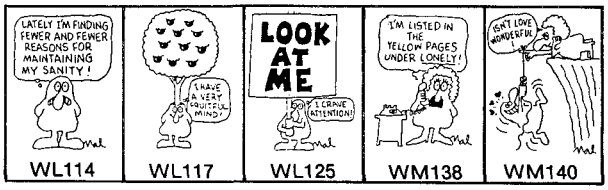

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how to stabilize—indeed, lower—gasoline prices, he got it right the first time. The highly competitive gasoline business is especially responsive to the proddings of the Invisible Hand, and those who in 1981 predicted $2.50-a-gallon gasoline now scramble to find non-economic explanations for the economic behavior of gasoline, which has dropped from a 1980 price of $1.21 a gallon to well below $1 in 1980 value.

Mutatis mutandis, the same policy is indicated for other sources of primary energy. It may be too much to hope that we can quickly extract ourselves from the synfuels boondoggle, but at least we can avoid any more like that.

For secondary energy—in effect, electricity—things are more complex. The major challenge is preserving the nuclear-power option until we recognize our need for it. Nuclear power is the technology of choice because it allows us to burn what is good for nothing else. Fossil fuels, in contrast, are immensely valuable as chemical feedstocks: We eat them, wear them, make medicine out of them. The fashionable theorists are always correctly reminding us that fossil fuels are nonrenewable, and no less correctly that we should take the long view of things. We really do need to worry about how our descendants will live if we burn all the coal, oil, and gas as fuel, leaving them with a technology we dropped centuries ago—one powered by wind and water and wood.

If we are to avoid this, we must reshape the regulation of nuclear power. The present policy embodies the doctrine that more is more and most is best. But it does not follow that a complex licensing process is more effective than a simple one, any more than a long examination is more difficult than a short one. Complex regulation can have astonishing economic impacts. Two nuclear reactors ordered the same year face each other across Long Island Sound; one has nearly paid for itself in oil saved, and one will probably never do so. The difference is not technical, for they were designed as near sisters. One passed through licensing fairly easily, and the other is still mired in it. Regulation made the difference between success for Millstone Point II and failure for Shoreham. The agenda for the second Reagan term is clear: rationalize regulation while retaining safety. As the European example has shown, this is entirely possible.

Also following that example, federal policy should encourage greater standardization of plants by approving several designs and authorizing their construction without individual construction licenses. The operating license should then be granted on the basis of whether the completed plant meets the standards of the design.

To turn from energy: There is no technological area the feds have savaged more than mass transit. Billions of dollars have been spent on subsidizing capital acquisitions by local transit authorities on the pretext of improving technology, it being assumed that direct subsidies to buy existing technology would be wicked.

The consequences of this policy are perhaps best seen in Boston. In the early 1970s, Boston's streetcar system was served by so-called PCC cars, designed in the early 1930s; the newest in Boston's fleet were built in the late 1940s. In anticipation of federal funds for modernization, the cars had been allowed to fall into disastrous disrepair.

When new cars were ordered, there was no American manufacturer of streetcars. Forbidden to buy foreign, the Boston authorities gave the contract—without seeing a prototype—to a Boeing subsidiary that had never built a streetcar and had no test track. As the cars began to arrive, they proved unbelievably unreliable. Nor did such incompetence come cheap: The new cars cost hundreds of thousands of dollars each. Now, while ancient PCC cars still ply the tracks, Boston must buy replacements for vehicles that lasted for less than a decade.

The fiasco resulted almost entirely from federal transit policy. Had the Boston authorities been free to buy without regard to innovation or origin, they could have purchased proven European, Japanese, or Canadian designs. Instead, they got equipment that was the triumph of the new and nothing else. The doors on the PCC cars always worked; the original doors on the new cars were so complex and thence so unreliable as to require total redesign. Even now, they are inferior to those on their ancient but still serviceable predecessors.

In his second term, the President ought to strive to limit transit subsidies to projects that promise to be more than objects of civic pride for local boosters. There must be three dozen cities in the country which could make use of a limited subway system such as that recently constructed in Atlanta. Each could make an equally valid case for federal gigabucks. Under business as usual, those with clout in Washington would get them. Mr. Reagan can do better than that: He can make sure that none of them gets built. Next, he should drop the counterproductive pretense that federal subsidies are really a form of R&D, and limit them to the purchase of proven technologies.

In general, the course to be set is clear: Give the market the fullest play possible, and, in the irreducible government sector, limit the policy role of the bureaucracy. □

URBAN LIFE

A WINDOW OF REALISM

Roger Starr

The Unheavenly City, by Edward Banfield (Little, Brown, 1974); The Unheavenly City Revisited, by Edward Banfield (Little, Brown, 358 pp., $11.95)

EDWARD BANFIELD'S two books perform a service for the government official that none other has: They cut down his agenda. In place of a long list of troubles that are described as typically urban, Banfield reduces the prototypical urban problems to one. That's the persistent existence of a group of people whom he categorizes as "low-class." All the other difficulties of urban life—the bad housing, the obsolescent street pattern, the conflicts between metropolitan-wide necessities and the desires of communities and neighborhoods within the metropolis—are problems that urban governments and private economies are solving; indeed they are much nearer solution than ever before, as well as considerably less dangerous to life and health. By comparison, the "low-class" problem is not better, but worse.

Banfield argues that "low-class" is a nonracial concept. He points out that ever since the passage of the Elizabethan Poor Laws, the British people

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have recognized the necessity of providing public help for those unable to take care of themselves. They also have recognized that the group of helpless people includes two separate subgroups. The first are those who in ordinary circumstances can manage to work, earning enough money to survive. They need public help only in extraordinary circumstances brought on by public catastrophes or private vicissitudes: With luck, the crisis will pass with all deliberate speed, leaving the worthy poor able to struggle on unaided. The second group of poor people is that number whom Banfield characterizes primarily as being capable of living only in the immediate present. Its members cannot defer instant gratification for future benefits. They are unable to make plans for themselves or their children; and the number of their children emphasizes their failures in self-discipline. For them, too, the British Poor Laws, and the American welfare system, must provide help because, as Banfield puts it, the commonwealth cannot allow people to starve to death on the street.

The problem that the British have sought to avoid has been identified with magnificent understanding and detail in Gertrude Himmelfarb's recent book, *The Idea of Poverty*; Banfield grasped it when he wrote both installments of *The Unheavenly City*. The problem is to find a way to help both groups of poor people without turning the working poor into the "low-class" poor. The British did it—for a time—by sticking the paupers in almshouses where they stayed, while letting the working poor out as soon as the crisis passed. The modern American method works less well, though it strikes the new middle class and more affluent people as more humane, more in keeping with democratic principles: the welfare system that gives money to both groups of poor people, saving the working poor from destitution at the price of turning an increasing number into permanently "low-class" people who spend more than a generation in pauperdom. Their offspring are making public spaces uninhabitable, destroying the educational system, vandalizing transportation systems, and threatening the future of the American city.

The challenge that faced the framers of the Poor Laws faces America today, with several added difficulties. Welcome improvements in public health have greatly increased the survivorship rates even of the paupers, so that natural attrition from the bacterial diseases born of dirt and degradation no longer winnows their numbers. And the humanistic attitudes of the elite populations make inevitable the constant raising of standards for the care of the indigent. Those standards, in turn, require that far more extensive government assistance be given to members of the working and middle classes. Perhaps the social system and the economy could continue to support the economic and social tolls laid on the city by the existence of a pauper class at its present size. But it is questionable that urban civilization could afford either the economic or the social costs of the continuing expansion of the pauper population together with a continuing rise in the standards by which the poor are to be kept.

In pointing this out to his readers, Banfield sets down a proposition about modern government and social imperatives to which the second Reagan Administration must be ready to respond with a social policy. The Administration has a window of realism, thanks to the towering deficits and a mood of impatience with utopian solutions to problems. Unless the White House can pry the window open, a unique opportunity will have been lost. Now may be the last chance to set limits on public responsibility for private inadequacies, to distinguish between the worthy and unworthy poor, and to stifle a mindless benevolence that does as much harm to the beneficiary as the mean-spiritedness that the advocates for poverty decry. □

THE SEXES

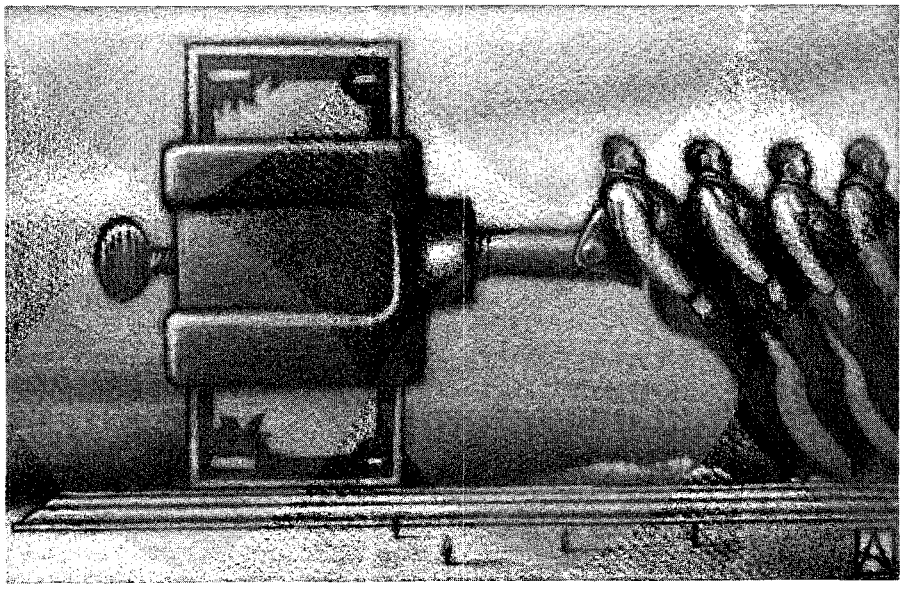
STILL DIFFERENT

George Gilder

Sexual Suicide, by George Gilder (Quadrangle, 1973; a new edition will be published next year by Pelican of New Orleans)

TEN YEARS AGO, when I was a driven, compulsive, priapic boy of thirty or so, obsessed with myself and what thereof I could glimpse in the eyes of women, I told the world the truth about masculinity. The book was called *Sexual Suicide*, and for it I was named Pig of the Year by *Time* magazine, and garnered even more acclaim from the National Organization for Women, Gloria Steinem, Betty Friedan, Bella Abzug, and other prominent American zoologists. Nonetheless, for all my confessional pains I was called a colossal liar from all the closets and establishments of accomplished men.

Men, I was indignantly told—even by city dwellers who shun the subways and all but some thirty pacified blocks aboveground in fear of gangs of unmarried male assailants—were by no means the violent and predatory creatures I described, nor needful of family supports to be readied for civilized life. Men, I was disdainfully assured by eminent professors who are regularly reduced to a desperately dithering rut by the flash of a co-ed's thigh or harlot's bosom, have no more compulsive and immediate sexual drives than



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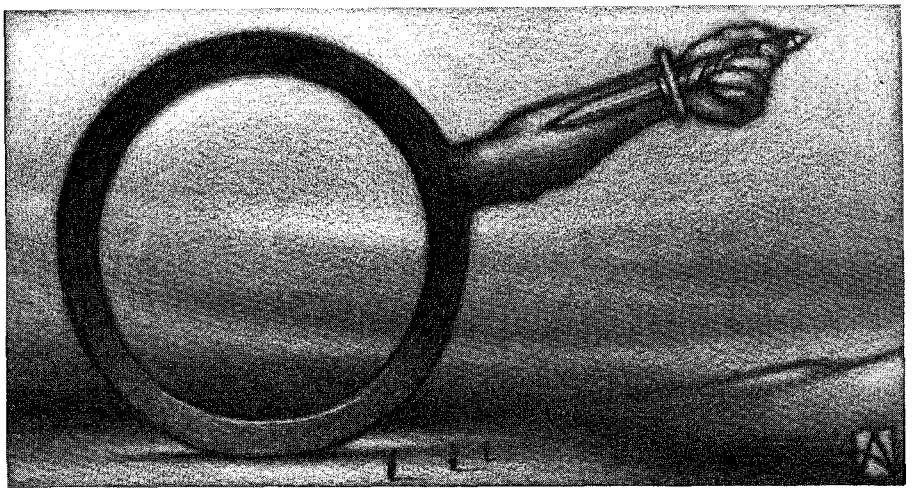
women. Men, in profession after profession with scarcely a female rival, denied passionately my claim that greater male aggressiveness and sexual anxiety assure that men will tend to dominate all contested hierarchies in every social institution outside the family order itself (where the sexual and procreative superiority of women dictates their leading role). Men, whose role as providers and protectors of women defines their entire existence and motivation, reproached me firmly, saying that the provider function reflects nothing fundamental about men and can safely be replaced by welfare, affirmative action, and other governmental devices for compensating by coercion for the lesser aggressiveness and commitment of women.

Now myself an accomplished man—and a dishwasher and diaper sniffer with the best of them—I understand the bitterness of my earlier critics. Now as a successful married man, I could denounce my youthful confessions as a tissue of postures and defenses of an insecure young man on the make. I could adopt the big lie of liberation like all the other men at the top who can safely indulge the little militant ladies below, with their charming little muscles from aerobic dancing classes and exercises on the Nautilus machine and their big talk about orgasmic demands and full-time careers litigating for women's rights and other feminine frivolities. We big-timers, we no longer take our cues from Norman Mailer but from Dow Jones and Dr. Seuss. We new men at the top, we all know it takes a tough man to make a tender chicken. But some of those kids coming out of college might still be induced to imagine that the girls go for tender, sensitive skin, limp wrists, and designer jeans. Some of these young guys may go overboard and go gay, leaving even more of the young nubiles to us up here on the Ship of State.

So now that we are at the top, we are all very strong for the ERA; very admiring of the tennis of Martina Navratilova and the sprint speed of Jarmila Kratochvilova, politely not even mentioning the lesbianism of the one, and the hormonal deformations and the hard corrugated torso of the other. We wash the dishes, yessir; we want our wives to have equal careers (so we can divorce them with clearer conscience and pursue the younger members of the sisterhood). We men at the top are real men; the top brass of the sexual revolution. We happily send the young men onto the nude beaches and into the chill trenches of liberation, and onto the wuthering heights of egalitarian love. We know that many will fail and flag (for men need to feel superior to be potent or manly), leaving their women and children behind for the generals generously to harvest. Now that we have reached the top, we men are much more sympathetic toward sexual revolution. Why, it is genuinely irritating to waste a whole evening on a beautiful lady only to discover in the wee hours of the morning that she objects to love with married men out of fealty to some utterly obsolete Victorian moral code.



We men at the top, we like women's liberation because we know very well it chiefly liberates us and the young ladies we would like to buy. We can be real men again, like we wanted to be when we were kids, only this time on MasterCard and American Express and the Delta Frequent Flyer Plan. We can have a girl in every port and *pied-à-terre*, Hyatt Regency and Meridien. We can try all the tricks and treats we imagined during the hollow evenings of our youth, the weak ends of overworked and underpaid weeks, when we struggled often fecklessly to stretch our pennies into the beds and bodies of women. Hell, now that we are at the top we can tell you sincerely that pornography is boring (except for the gay displays of young male hardware: that is a genuine and chilling threat to our middle-aged paunch and passivity).

In sum, we could adopt the entire catalogue of feminist claims on the essential sameness of men and women. Because in our deepest masculine nature we shrink above all from a fight with a woman, we might give in to the claims of the movement out of chivalry. But I believe this typical male fecklessness before feminism is contemptible. For it sacrifices chiefly the wives and daughters who make our lives worth while.

Steven Goldberg has remarked that naturally superior male aggressiveness today is treated like sex in Victorian England. It is a fact of life that the society largely condemns and tries to suppress and that its intellectuals ignore or deny. The result is a society that simultaneously denies the existence of natural male aggressiveness and is continually preoccupied with it. Male aggression and violence animate our movies, TV shows, magazines, newspapers, politics, culture. Our city streets quail before it. Our city schools are terrorized by it. "Liberated" women are obsessed by it—laboring through hours of karate, palavering endlessly through rap sessions on rape. The United States is a nation of households, each containing a man who goes to bed at night with the full understanding that it is he who will have to confront any intruder, a man who deeply feels his responsibility for defending his family—and who fears that his ability to do it is diminishing in modern society. The ultimate nightmare of almost every male is to witness helplessly the rape of his wife. Only somewhat less threatening to the very core of male consciousness is the possibility of the violation of his home. In this role as protector of women, a gun is not a mere symbol. It does objectively increase the man's capacity to defend his household.

The role of protector of wife and

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children is as old as the family nexus itself, as old and as deeply ingrained as the role of provider. A move by the state finally to incapacitate the man in either responsibility—and to usurp him—undermines the validity of the family itself and the man's part in it.

Male aggressiveness and bonding play vital roles in society: roles of moral enforcement, male socialization, protection of women and children, and provision for their needs. Masculinity gives emotional traction to the dangerous responsibilities of the police and to the continual acts of resistance and constraint that maintain a social order. It disciplines the aggressions and drives of adolescent boys and induces them to join in synergistic male groups to accomplish much of the work of the society, rather than ganging up to attack it. Masculine traits impel men to compete obsessively in meeting the continual challenges of a changing economy, to take the risks and commit the energies that impel economic growth. Masculinity gives courage and vitality to the fight for justice and compassion, for the ideals that the society cherishes. There is no sign anywhere in any society that women in general are willing or able to perform these roles. "Next time you're mugged, call a hippie" or a woman cop. The principle applies everywhere that the various economic and psychic muggings of our time occur. The denial of aggression or the attempt to abolish the impulse in men may well create a more threatening and exploitative society in which domineering psychopaths, from high government offices to the streets, ride roughshod over everyone else.

It is often alleged that there are many women who are as "masculine" in a particular role as many men and that therefore the very concept of "masculinity" is meaningless or irrelevant for particular individuals even if applicable to the "average." But in each function or hierarchy of the society, women will not have to compete merely with average men; they will have to compete with those men whose aptitudes lead them to specialize in the particular task—in many economic activities, they have to compete with the best from the entire world. It does not help women chess or basketball players or microchip entrepreneurs or commodity traders that they are better at these activities than millions of men; what matters is that very few women are willing or able to compete at the top male level in any of these fields. Greater male commitment and aggressiveness—deriving from sexual inferiority and hormonal differentiation—mean that men will tend to dominate any area not related to special female propensities and abilities. Any society that fails to recognize this fact of life will tend to lose in competition with societies that understand it.

In spite of all the protests and denunciations, I am happy I wrote *Sexual Suicide*. I do not want to see my daughters grow up to be Germaine Greer or Gloria Steinem, longing to have a child as they approach their fifties. I do not want my daughters to sacrifice their twenties to an aimless rivalry with men and then clutch desperately for marriage as their youthfulness passes. I do not want my son to be told that he does not have to be masculine to succeed as a man—that he can be happily supported by a mothering wife and never really grow up. I do not want my wife to feel she is unequal to me if she earns less money or, above all, unequal to the careerist women I meet in my work.

The reason I still oppose feminism more than ten years later is that I love my family more than I long to relive a bachelor freedom. I therefore understand the terrible losses inflicted by feminism on the men and women of America today who try to live by its remorseless egalitarian code, who attempt to twist their lives and bodies into the unisex mold, who tangle in loveless sterility on the procrustean beds of emancipation. It may work for the rich and successful for a while. But it will never work for a society at all. As Sweden contemplates its illegitimacy rate of 40 per cent—and America struggles with the harvest of broken families in the ghetto with an illegitimacy rate near 80 per cent in many cases—can we not acknowledge that men and women are different and that families depend on sex roles, however compromised with change, and *vive la différence*? □

EDUCATION

CUT THE BULL

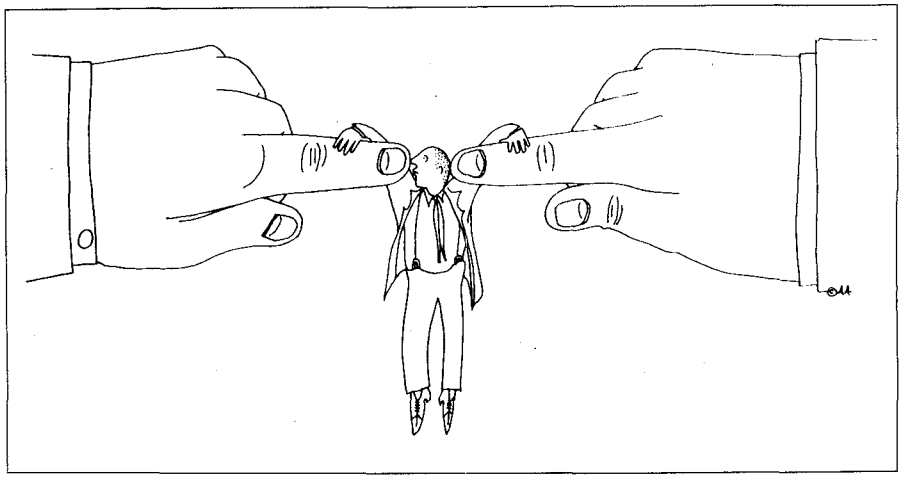
David Brooks

The Troubled Crusade, by Diane Ravitch (Basic, 384 pp., $19.95)

IN THE BUSINESS of education, nothing succeeds like failure. Every commission report that rails against the mediocrity of our schools translates into a multimillion-dollar government program for education. Every time the literacy rate or the SAT scores decline we get another batch of reforms to raise teacher salaries and fund innovative techniques. No matter what is wrong with the schools, the response is invariably "more"—more spending, more programs, more reports. In the private sector this is called rewarding incompetence. In public education it's called "investing in our future."

America has a blind faith in the melioristic power and perfectibility of its public schools. In her outstanding history of post-World War II education, *The Troubled Crusade*, Diane Ravitch notes the pattern:

> Probably no other idea has seemed more typically American than the belief that



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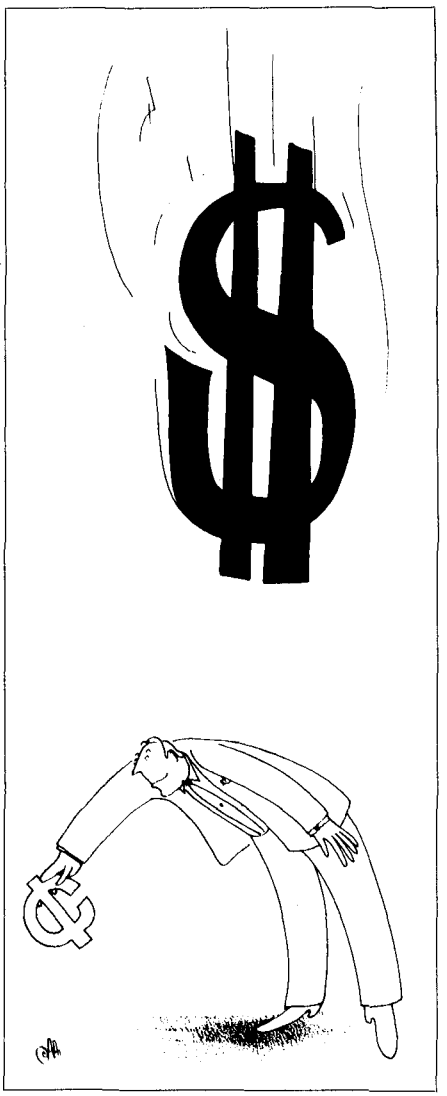
schooling can cure society's ills. Whether in the early nineteenth century or the twentieth, Americans have argued for more schooling on the grounds that it would preserve democracy, eliminate poverty, lower the crime rate, enrich common culture, reduce unemployment, ease the assimilation of immigrants to the nation, overcome ethnic differences, advance scientific and technological progress, prevent traffic accidents, raise health standards, refine moral character, and guide young people into useful occupations.

Traditionally, the faith in the wonder-working powers of education was based on the belief that if you could teach people to think well, they would be less likely to fall into poverty, commit crimes, practice racism, or submit to demagoguery. But after 1945, people in and around the Federal Government began to believe in public schools as institutions through which social problems could be addressed directly. Instead of relying on a good education to help blacks get decent jobs that would integrate them into society, the government created a busing program to force integration in the schools. Instead of depending on the standard English curriculum to assimilate immigrants, we now have the Bilingual Education Act, which sponsors curricula in 68 languages, including Siberian Yupik, Aleut, and several American Indian languages that have no written form. Instead of teaching students how to evaluate research reports, or how to understand carcinogens, we now have legislatively mandated health courses telling students not to smoke. The emphasis is on propaganda, not education.

The faith in education is now based on a series of grandiose boasts about public schools' ability to solve public-policy problems. For example, Lyndon Johnson told the nation, "All our problems come down to a single word, and that word is education." And last summer, Mary Futrell, president of the National Education Association, demanded more federal aid to the schools with the argument, "Place education first. Everything else will then fall into place."

Diane Ravitch, who has a tendency to tell a tale and then ignore its moral, smiles on all this. She praises the growth of educational endeavors and concludes her book with the following lump of saccharin: "If it seems naïvely American to put so much stock



in the schools, colleges and universities, and the endless prospect of self-improvement and social improvement, it is an admirable and perhaps even a noble flaw."

But a quick reading of *The Troubled Crusade* will be enough to convince one that our faith in the schools' ability to solve social problems has proved to be a more damaging self-delusion than, say, the Mets fan's lament, "We'll get 'em next year." Education has historically had an impact on reducing poverty, narrowing the gap between rich and poor, improving public understanding of political issues, upgrading common culture, and reducing the crime rate, but it is not clear that it can continue to do this unless it stops trying to implement programs to address these problems directly. People like Thomas Sowell have argued persuasively about the failure of specific programs. But more than that, the spread of educational undertakings has reduced the schools' traditional emphasis on reading, writing, and calculating. It has contributed to a decline in critical thinking (even among our best students), it has spread semi-literacy, and it has eroded self-discipline. Trying to solve everybody's problems, the schools have neglected their own.

The Federal Government deserves particular blame for the diffusion of educational goals because, as Diane Ravitch notes, "Almost every federal program encouraged local education agencies to do something they might not otherwise do," whether it be to provide career education, offer free medical services or hearing and speech instruction, provide nutritional and hygienic information, or develop innovative teaching methods. In 1970, for example, the Nixon Administration launched the Experimental Schools Program, which offered grants to schools if they could devise a new program organized around "a central theme or educational concept that reflects change from what exists at present to what education ought to be in terms of the needs and aspirations of the learning." Berkeley, California, won a grant for a program designed to stress ethnic pride. It established one school for blacks only, and one school for Hispanics only.

Most schools respond to these federal- and state-grant opportunities by establishing "socially relevant" courses, usually in the form of university-level disciplines bastardized for high-school consumption. A psychology course tells kids how to get along with their parents. A sociology course teaches that high-school cliques are antisocial. An anthropology course tells the students that we should have peace between cultures.

A few months ago, a teacher confronted me with the observation, "I don't understand all this talk about 'back to basics.' The basics were never gone. I've been teaching spelling for twenty years." Teachers have noticed, correctly, that the back-to-basics movement is misnamed. The basics are still there—the problem is that they are now strangled by the government-funded growth of the nonbasics. The need is not to go back to basics, but to cut the bull. After all, how much resonance does a class on how to write a sentence have when it is surrounded in the schedule by a health class on the evils of drinking, an English class on subliminal advertising,

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and a bachelor-education class on how to make brownies from a packaged mix? And how successful is a computer technician going to be who has mastered the computer languages but doesn't understand basic mathematical principles?

In President Reagan's second term, the Administration will continue to push programs designed to shore up the basics—a master-teacher program, sound discipline policies, tuition tax credits—but it must also place more emphasis on cutting garbage courses. The effort will have to be largely intellectual, because with the prevailing faith in the schools' ability to solve social problems, the education lobby can easily defeat any program cuts. Part of the problem is the President's dismal reputation within the educational community. A recent American Federation of Teachers convention voted on a resolution to endorse Mondale for President: The vote was two thousand and something to one. That doesn't say very much for Reagan's popularity among teachers (or for independent thinking in education). In the past four years, the President has emphasized the need to cut federal dollars to the schools. Though correct, the position sounds callous. A nicer emphasis might be to crusade against burdening the schools with social problems. This is a position the educational lobbyists don't want to articulate, but it is one that the rank-and-file teachers will be very receptive to. One New York teacher at the AFT convention said, "Politicians give us all their insoluble problems, and if the schools can't solve them in two years, they call us failures."

The President also might want to urge local districts to define strictly what should go on in the schools, limiting their activities to the teaching of a few basic subjects. There should be no health education, no psychiatric counseling, no courses on values or creation science, no bastardized university-level subjects, no cooking classes or shop, no pop-culture classes in the English Department, and so on. These services may be legitimate, but they distract attention from the real purpose of the schools. The schools will be better off if the President can persuade America that trying to do everything means doing nothing well, and that in education, as in government and hip measurements, less is more. □

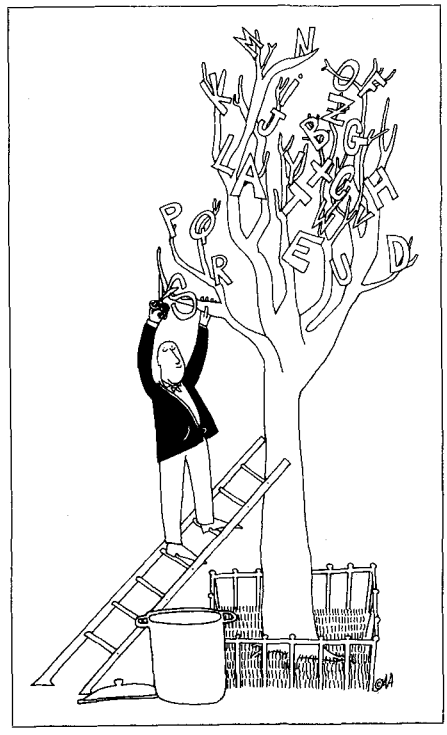
FEDERAL ARTS

IS ART GOOD FOR YOU?

Richard Grenier

As THE presidential election of 1972 approached, a middle-echelon official of the National Security Council, whose professional staff then numbered sixty, informed me that 58 of those staff members were going to vote for George McGovern and that only two, Henry Kissinger and his deputy, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, were going to vote for Richard Nixon. The point is that if McGovernism was able to permeate the staff of such a sensitive organization as the National Security Council under Richard Nixon, you can imagine the politics that reign in the halls of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), where, from my experience, simple McGovernism would make you positively right-wing. Hence all those NEH-funded documentary films ardently extolling the splendors of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and the Polisario in the Western Sahara, and articles such as a recent one singing the praises of Fidel Castro in a magazine funded by the NEA.

The Reagan-appointed heads of the NEH and the NEA—William Bennett and Frank Hodsoll—have had mixed success in restraining their radical utopian troops. Bennett has taken a series of courageous stands, running (along with the Justice Department) the only agency in Washington that refuses to classify its employees according to race, ethnicity, or gender. Whereas Hodsoll, from all I have heard, has just been content to go with the flow. And even Bennett has been known to whimper and run off with his tail between his legs at a reprimand from the nation's conscience, the *New York Times*.



But Frank Hodsoll and his NEA have been far more naughty than Mr. Bennett's NEH. The last three commercial motion pictures I have seen with NEA funding are *Testament* (a poor man's version of television's super-spectacular, nuclear-pacifist *The Day After*), the rabidly anti-American *El Norte* (all saintly Hispanics and contemptible *gringos*), and a truly vile little film called *Far from Poland*, which is about the spiritual crisis induced in the heart of a true socialist because she wants to support the Solidarity movement in Poland, but is warned by the voice of Fidel Castro in the night that she is playing straight into the hands of America's reactionary forces, for example Beelzebub, otherwise known as Ronald Reagan, who sees Solidarity as justification for his despicable anti-Communism.

All of which is to say that I approach any discussion of the NEH and the NEA with a profound prejudice emanating from my disgust at their seemingly irreversible politicization, and from my despair that these organizations will ever be staffed by people who can surrender the notion that Christ's kingdom is come in Nicaragua, Cuba, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, South Yemen, Vietnam, or Cambodia, and who will give at least qualified support to the society under which they themselves flourish.

Ronald Berman has recently written an engaging book, *Culture and Politics* (see "The Right Books," April 6), about his trials and tribulations as head of the NEH from 1971 to 1977. Richard Nixon—not the artists' and intellectuals' favorite President, you might remember—thought that if he offered these people patronage they might like him better. It was just one of those ideas. But the ease with which funds were voted by a traditionally philistine Congress was surprising. The NEA, for

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example, which had a budget of only $8 million in 1970, a decade later was spending more than ten times that amount. The status of artists and intellectuals was rising, of course. It is well known that congressmen buy votes with the taxpayers' money—it is almost the American way of democracy. But the time has now come when congressmen will vote taxpayers' money just for the pleasure of rubbing shoulders with artists at cocktail parties. Art is suddenly very prestigious. And this in the face of a 1981 Roper poll showing that only 14 per cent of Americans think that art should be supported by the Federal Government.

One can hardly be astonished at the eventual politicization of the endowments after reading the official mission of the 1968 National Council of the Humanities (as it was called then), which was to encourage projects "relevant" to such things as "urbanization, minority problems, war, peace, and foreign policy; problems of governmental decision, civil liberties . . ." Perhaps art would benefit the poor and relieve tensions in the inner cities, as promised by David Rockefeller and Hugh Carey. Perhaps it would promote international understanding and bring world peace, as promised by Jimmy Carter.

But now Edward C. Banfield, a professor of government at Harvard, has set out to examine, in *The Democratic Muse*, the question of whether the government has any business funding endowments and councils of this sort at all.

Emerson said that art existed to make men better. But did it? Banfield writes: "The art museum was founded soon after the Civil War as part of a long struggle by the Protestant elite, which ran the large cities, to moralize their populations by eliminating vice and inculcating the domestic and civic virtues." Prostitutes and alcoholics, after a good look at a Frans Hals, would go forth and sin no more, you see.

Hardly were the museums built, however, when the moralistic doctrines of Ruskin were challenged by the doctrines of Walter Pater, for whom art existed "for its own sake" and had nothing to do with truth or morality. Possibly by coincidence, it was at just this time that the great art museums fell into the hands of a new class of the super-rich such as J. P. Morgan, who became president of New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1904. For this new elite the museum became a "depository of grandeur"—a place for storing and displaying rare and costly objects, which were being bought up and shipped over from Europe by the boatload. One suspects that the luster of vast wealth was still associated with art when, in 1961, the Metropolitan having acquired what was after all its 32nd Rembrandt—but for a headline-making $2.3 million (the first time a painting had sold for more than $1 million)—*one million people* filed by to see it, increasing the average yearly attendance at the museum by more than 40 per cent. When, two years later, the French government lent the *Mona Lisa* to the Metropolitan, *two* million people stood in line for hours to get a ten-second glimpse of it. But what were all these unprecedented millions of spectators getting out of these shows? Civic virtue? Education? Were the arts useful as a welfare program? For psychiatric therapy? Mental health? If the spectators were only getting an indefinable "enjoyment," should the Federal Government be subsidizing Disneyland?

But NEA funds were also made available so that "grocers" and "woodcutters" (in Senator Claiborne Pell's words) could read *Beowulf* long into the winter nights. And this wasn't a patch on the direct grants the NEA has made to artists, one of whom was funded for a season he wanted to spend with a sow, two rabbits, a buck, two doves, and a woolly monkey. They would all make nests, and would be visited occasionally by other creatures ("birds, mice, people, etc."). The artist needed food, materials, video equipment, and a motorbike with a large sidecar ("the educational value for all of us will be extraordinary"). Now here was a man on the "cutting edge" of the artistic sensibility. And if you think this sort of thing has come to an end with the Reagan Administration, Frank Hodsoll recently authorized what I can only call the "Ballet of the Dancing Earth Movers," which took place on a construction lot. The possibility of an audience for this ballet was highly problematical, of course, but it went forward nonetheless.

Professor Banfield's solution is Draconian. He would abolish instantly both the NEA and the NEH, and, if he thought about it a bit, I suspect he would abolish the Corporation for Public Broadcasting as well. His basic test is the following: Are these foundations in the "public interest" in the way a courthouse is in the public interest—whereas a statue in front of the courthouse is not? And he will not be put off by hypothetically beneficial side effects such as education. If heavy statuary is also good for ship ballast, it should be funded under a program for ship ballast.

An adult life spent mostly in Europe—no conceivable government in Austria, for example, would ever dream of defunding either the Vienna State Opera or the fabulous art collection of the Habsburgs—has left me with a less bitter opposition to public funding than Professor Banfield's. But basically I agree completely with Jacques Barzun when he wrote that art "can dignify and exalt the civilization that gives it birth and also weaken and destroy it." Hermann Göring was a great lover of art, we should remember, and Hitler and the Nazi creed swept through the humanities departments at the great German universities well before they caught fire among the general German public—hardly a point for Emerson.

In any event, total abolition of the NEA and the NEH is plainly not in the cards. But must our society be the first in history to subsidize artistic polemicists whose open purpose is its destruction? □

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THEY USED TO CALL IT THE RESISTANCE

NEW YORK, OCT. 28

THE BUSINESS ABOUT the CIA and the little booklet in Nicaragua brings to mind, yet again, as so much so often brings to mind, Henry Kissinger's wistful statement twenty years ago that "the liberals have pre-empted the categories." Applied to the current situation it adds up to: No serious attempt to liberate Nicaragua is tolerable, because the liberation of Nicaragua from the Sandinistas, as distinguished from the liberation of Nicaragua from Somoza, is not on the liberal agenda.

A generation ago it was accepted that patriotic and courageous Frenchmen would do what they could to liberate their country. There were a lot of Nazis in France, but most of France was governed by Frenchmen—Vichy French they were called, who had completed a treaty with Hitler under which, in effect, France became a Nazi German satellite. The order of the day for Frenchmen who did not want the permanent Nazification of their country was to do something about it. Aided by the British and the Americans, they relayed military information to the Allies, they blew up bridges and trains and power stations, they killed both German and French officials, they kidnapped, interrogated, and executed. They were called the Resistance.

Now it is the central contention of the architects of our policy in Central America that Nicaragua is not an independent country. For the sake of convenience, multiply any figure involving Nicaragua by a factor of one hundred in order to feel out what the figure would be cast in an American perspective—there are 2.5 million Nicaraguans and about 250 million Americans.

Nicaragua proposes a 250,000-man military (read, 25 million).

There are 36 new military bases in Sandinista Nicaragua. Forty-five tanks, and equivalent armored personnel carriers, mobile rocket launchers, and helicopters. There are three thousand Cuban military and security advisors and five thousand Cuban civilian technicians. There are fifty Soviet military advisors, several thousand Eastern-bloc technicians. Adding up to?

"There is something you have to understand," said Alfonso Robelo, a former member of the original five-man junta in Nicaragua. "Nicaragua is an occupied country . . . The national decisions, the crucial ones, are not in the hands of the Nicaraguans, but in the hands of Cubans. And really, in the end, it is not the Cubans, but the Soviets." That is why Alfonso Robelo is now a leader of the dissident Revolutionary Democratic Alliance.

The Nicaraguan people are oppressed at every level. Real wages are down 71 per cent since Somoza was ousted. There are 4,100 political prisoners (remember the times-100 factor). "There is," in the summary of Roger Reed, formerly with the Council for Inter-American Security, "no right to strike, no right of habeas corpus, no right of assembly, no right of political parties to hold public meetings." There is persecution of religion. And there is brutality. James Whelan, former managing editor of the *Washington Times*, and Patricia Bozell, former managing editor of *Triumph* magazine, in a wonderfully useful new book (*Catastrophe in the Caribbean*) discuss the methods of Nicaraguan interrogators trained by Cubans. "It must take training to devise the 'vest cut,' whereby captured counter-revolutionaries are taken to the nearest village, their arms and legs lopped off, and their torsos left to die by inches, a grisly inspiration of behavioral science for the inhabitants—men, women, and children alike."

Now the CIA was once routinely expected to help those who wished liberation from Communist tyranny and could hope to effect this (e.g., help the Greeks, the Guatemalans, the Afghans, the Nicaraguans; don't try—it is too late—to help Bulgarian dissidents, or Czechoslovakians). Why not help from the CIA for all dissidents against oppressive governments? Answer: Because we can't hack it. Fulbright reminded us that the government of the United States has no proper quarrel against any government, no matter how odious its policies, if it does not seek to export those policies. That is what distinguishes the tyranny of Castro from the tyranny of Papa Doc.

So a manual is worked up that outlines the techniques of resistance. Somebody in the CIA evidently had a hand in preparing it, though it was published, edited, and distributed by the Nicaraguan Resistance. And that causes Tip O'Neill to go into one of his high fustian outbursts against CIA director William Casey, who may not even have known about the CIA's role in the preparation of the manual, but can hardly believe that the *Contras* are going to limit themselves to using poison ivy against the Sandinistas. "I say it's time Mr. Casey should leave his job. I want him to get out of there."

There are others who say it is time for Tip O'Neill to grow up. There is a real world out there, and *sic semper tyrannis* is still the guide of American emotions; either it is, or we should repeal "The Star-Spangled Banner," lower the flag, and be done with it. □

QUIETING RIGHT-WING FEARS

NEW YORK, OCT. 24

HERE IS A rundown of some of the things the right wing in America has been worried about during the past few months. This is, after all, the election season, and there is the temptation to appeal to contiguous ideological groups. During the last debate, Walter Mondale, obviously seeking to appeal to the political center, sometimes sounded like General Curtis LeMay about such items as giving our technology away to the Soviet Union, beefing up our military, taking stock in Central America of the military problem. And in scattered references over the past few weeks, Ronald Reagan has managed to give the impression that his personal political mentors are Roosevelt, Truman, and Kennedy. But we troglodytes permit our spokesmen to say things like that, even if it is nose-holding time for us. It was the big things that worried the Right. These were:

1. Would Reagan conclude a deal on terms specified by the Contadora group? It was flashing around official Washington that there was great anxiety to conclude such a deal in order to show how flexible the Reagan Administration can be. The terms (it was rumored) would have been that Nicaragua would promise not to send military expeditions into other Central American countries. In return, the United States would suspend any aid to the *Contras*, and in effect reorder our relationship with Nicaragua. If Nicaragua cheated on its prom-

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ises, it could be called to account by a tribunal in which each of the Contadora nations would be represented. Etc. etc. The point: Marxist countries engaged in making revolutions don't give up that easily. Anyway, such an understanding has not been excreted by the State Department.

2. It was suspected that Reagan might consent, in order to entice the Soviet Union dramatically, to suspend work on the Star Wars anti-satellite strategic defense system.

It is by now crystal clear that the Soviet Union's principal political objective on the military front is to abort this program. It is ironic that the Soviet Union should place such emphasis on eliminating a program domestic critics insist should be abandoned because it would never work. If they were right, the Soviet Union would hardly put so much emphasis on it.

One can imagine that some of the President's advisors were crazy-mad to have their man come up with this concession, much as Lyndon Johnson, every now and then, especially before elections, would appease the doves by suspending the bombing of North Vietnam. Those conservatives who stayed cool on the subject pointed to the heavy psychological investment Ronald Reagan had in this program, and predicted he would not capitulate; and were correct.

3. Last spring and through the summer, it was hinted that Reagan might schedule a summit conference before the election. To have done such a thing, the right wing argued, would have been scandalously docile: as if to communicate to the Soviet Union that exhibitionistic conferences with Soviet chiefs of state were necessary to prove, at home, that a President was inoculated against any preference for war war over jaw jaw. Moreover, to have gone to Moscow at a time when Moscow has theatrically suspended all arms-control negotiations would have been to give the impression that the Soviet Union is so powerful (and therefore so intimidating) that we cannot afford to react conventionally. The conventional response to a partner who walks out on negotiations, which are after all designed to help both sides, is to resume your regular schedule, and wait until the pique subsides.

Well, Ronald Reagan didn't play with summiteering. Gromyko did visit the White House so that, however vaguely, the impression was left that Ronald Reagan is in touch, to the extent it is relevant to remain in touch, with substantial Soviet leadership.

The occasions came frequently, during the debate on Sunday, when one could hear the candidates struggle to say substantially the same thing, but in a rhetoric distinctively associated with a particular voting group. If Candidate A says, "War is the last resort, to be avoided at almost any cost, but we accept the final responsibility to remain free and independent," he is making a statement vaguely pleasing to liberal sensibilities. If Candidate B says, "We are first and foremost committed to the freedom and sovereignty of the United States, and all other considerations are subordinate to that commitment," he is saying exactly the same thing as Candidate A, but he is stirring the blood of American conservatives. There was a lot of that kind of thing going on Sunday. But on the major points, Ronald Reagan did not move. □

ARE YOU THERE, AMERICA?

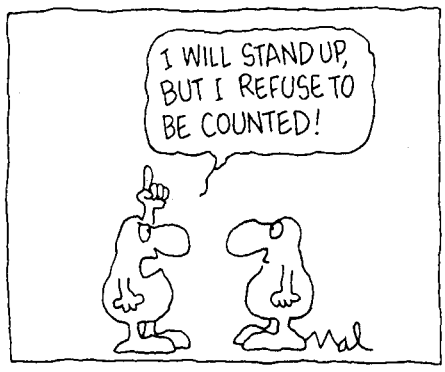
NEW YORK, OCT. 30

THE NEWS tonight began routinely. Reagan accused Mondale of historic complicity in a thoughtless record of American disarmament. Mondale was onto a precocious letter Reagan wrote 25 years ago to Richard Nixon. Hecklers had exhibited themselves on that campaign day everywhere, both against Reagan, and against Mondale. Etc. etc. One more election windup.

The attention of CBS then turned to Ethiopia. There we came face to face with scenes of massive, and of particular, starvation. In one scene a crowd of several thousand people was filmed running, using up emergency reserves of energy, toward a location where—the rumor had reached them—a supply of food was due to arrive. The announcer told us that the food was not in fact coming. In fact, even if it had, in the quantities advertised, it would not have taken care of one-half of those who were starving. Starving to death.

The camera turned then to show an infant girl. Her emaciation was so advanced that, the announcer told us, she died even while the pictures of her were being taken.

It is progressively difficult to shock via television. The technology gives us—seated in comfortable quarters, surrounded by reserves of food and drink about which one worries not about their potential scarcity, but about the impact of their abundance on the waistline—an isolated sense of security. Like the child's dream: Surrounded by an impenetrable cylinder of glass, the little boy sees the wild animals go by, but he is totally safe from their depredations; a special quality of coziness comes with security of that kind. That complacency was strikingly evident when the sequence on Ethiopia ended, ended without the announcer's bothering to mention what American viewers of that terrible scene could—well, could do about it. The television direction was in this sense no different from the depiction of a natural catastrophe. When we see a flood on television, we know, quite simply, that there is nothing we can do to still the waters. When Mount St. Helens belches out her fulminations over the American Northwest, we watch; properly horrified, but comfortably impotent. Why is it taken for granted that we are impotent in the face of children dying in Ethiopia?



A few weeks ago the Pope was in Canada, deploring idle fishermen at a time when people were dying of starvation in other parts of the world. This economic paradox is not one that human ingenuity has come up with a solution for. There is no way in which farmers can be made to farm, or seamstresses to sew, in the absence of what the economists call a "felt demand" for their products.

BUT WHAT is it, if not the socialization of mercy, that causes the largest television network in the world to portray so graphically the plight of Ethiopian men, women, and children starving to death without at the same time indicating how, and in what way, individual Americans can help? Something happened, somewhere along the line, that seems to have persuaded us that if a human being is sick or hungry and needs succoring, then it is State-time, and please let us get back to the political campaign, or to any other distracting subject. Many years ago, when the Vatican first got into the business of issuing encyclicals aimed at broad social action, the doctrine of subsidiarity was enunciated. It said: No government can undertake that which can privately be undertaken; and no higher unit of government can undertake what a lower unit of government should undertake.

Those strictures might have been handed out at Mount Sinai, so sensible are they. But what has happened to the impulse to private charity? Why aren't the churches and other philanthropic organizations galvanized to help Ethiopians? H. Ross Perot, the Texas billionaire of large imagination, is needed: to be the modern Herbert Hoover. To say: "Look, America: There are people out there dying in misery. Stop! Give them a hand. I am organizing an effort to deliver ten, twenty, fifty, one hundred thousand, a million, tons of grain. Are you with me? Do you hear me? Or are you deaf, Americans? Prove you're not." □

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(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

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TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

DEFINITIONS

A. English philosopher (1632-1704) (full name) — 6 96 132 115 55 41 74 120 30

B. Stubborn — 71 24 38 123 83 151 11 59 100

C. The Bard's bride — 117 27 102 82 62 3 125 92

D. Minnesota athletes (2 words) — 35 154 14 106 124 49 147 90 68 43

E. City in northeastern Virginia — 133 153 17 52 42 98 157 143 76

F. Title of nobility — 91 7 84 111 56 134 29

G. The view from the keystone — 69 146 116 108 81 44 18

H. Competing on a mental level (2 words) — 33 50 103 119 128 93 10 77 22 156 / 126 113

I. Believes (slang) — 39 66 15 155 87 136 144 23

J. Lively — 1 118 45 152

K. Murky — 97 36 53 138 114 25

L. Conceal the truth — 127 104 47 60 4 107 75 94 31

M. Sister of Cadmus — 145 28 88 2 64 140

N. That which can be iterated — 78 121 142 89 34 12 101 54 141 67

O. Well mannered (slang) — 110 79 13 51 131

P. Take precedence over — 150 58 9 80 46 109 19 85

Q. Mother-of-pearl — 72 37 130 5 137

R. Defeat soundly — 63 99 148 139 48 26 73

S. Mad — 20 86 57 112 122

T. Squeaky wheel's source of remedy (2 words) — 65 40 16 149 105 135

U. Crude — 70 21 32 95 129 8 61

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 56 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

■	1 J	2 M	3 C	4 L	5 Q	■	6 A	7 F	8 U	9 P	■	10 H	11 B	12 N	13 O
14 D	15 I	16 T	17 E	18 G	■	19 P	20 S	21 U	22 H	23 I	■	24 B	25 K	26 R	27 C
28 M	29 F	30 A	■	31 L	32 U	33 H	34 N	35 D	■	36 K	37 Q	38 B	39 I	40 T	41 A
42 E	43 D	■	44 G	45 J	46 P	■	47 L	48 R	49 D	50 H	51 O	52 E	53 K	54 N	55 A
56 F	■	57 S	58 P	59 B	■	60 L	61 U	62 C	63 R	■	64 M	65 T	66 I	67 N	68 D
■	69 G	70 U	71 B	72 Q	73 R	■	74 A	75 L	76 E	■	77 H	78 N	79 O	80 P	■
81 G	82 C	83 B	84 F	85 P	■	86 S	87 I	88 M	89 N	90 D	91 F	92 C	■	93 H	94 L
■	95 U	96 A	97 K	■	98 E	99 R	100B	101N	102C	■	103H	104L	105T	106D	■
107L	108G	109P	110O	111F	■	112S	113H	■	114K	115A	116G	117C	118J	119H	120A
121N	122S	■	123B	124D	125C	126H	■	127L	128H	129U	130Q	131O	■	132A	133E
134F	■	135T	136I	■	137Q	138K	139R	140M	141N	■	142N	143E	144I	145M	146G
■	147D	148R	■	149T	150P	151B	152J	153E	154D	155I	■	156H	157E	■	■

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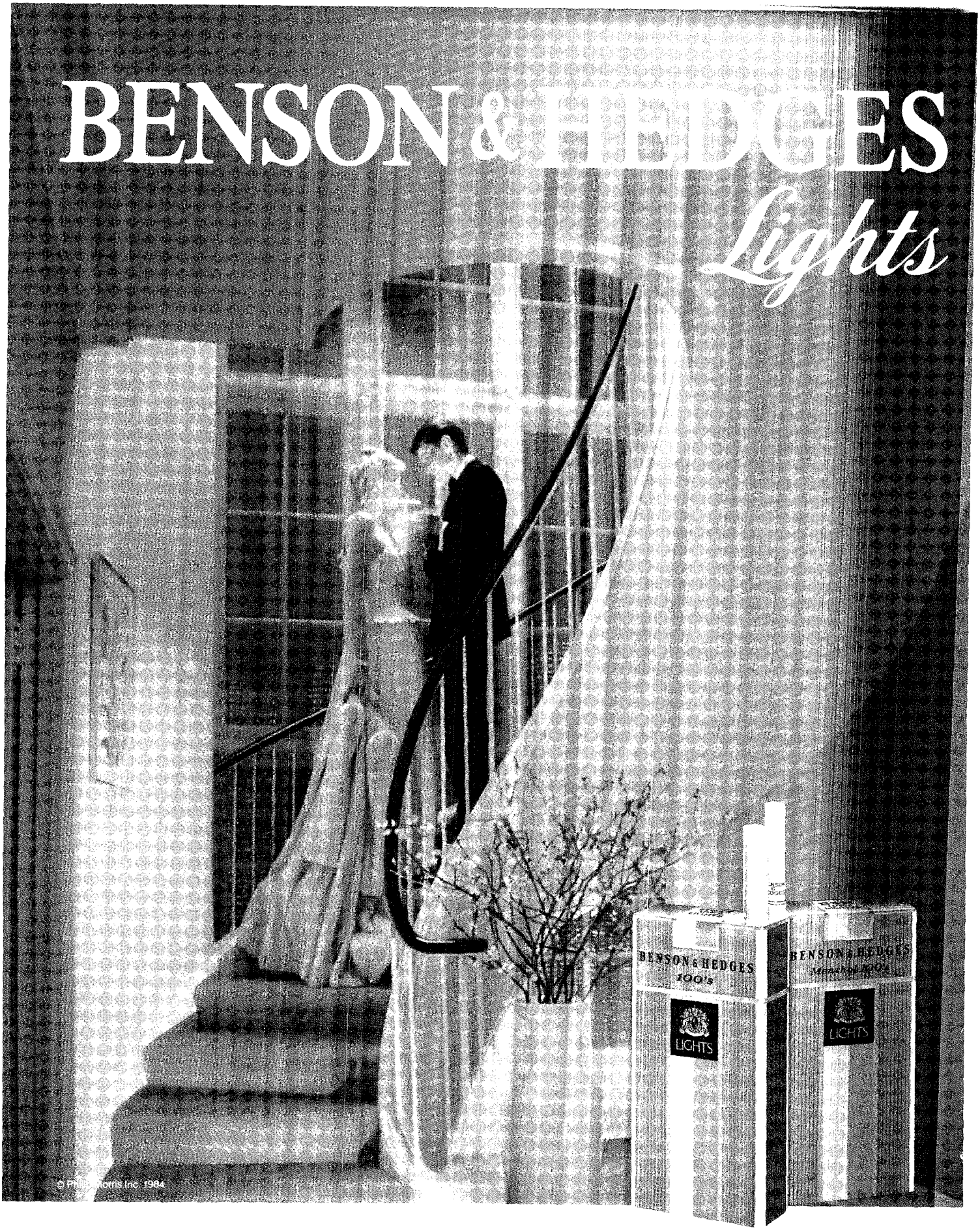

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